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गुरुकुल कांगड़ी

Chief Editor
LALLANJI GOPAL
Editors
T. P. VERMA
B. CHATTERJEE
O P SINGH

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A PLEA FOR STUDY OF ART IN COINAGE*

B. N. MUKHERJEE

Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am grateful to the authorities of the Numismatic Society of India for electing me as the President for its present session. I do not know what personal deserts have earned for me the august chair I am holding here to-day. I can, however, assure you that I shall fulfil my duties to the best of my abilities.

It is customary for a presidential address to an academic body like ours (a) to make a survey of researches and discoveries done in the recent past, and (b) to offer a guideline for researches to be done in near future. We intend to make a departure this year. We presume that our colleagues are well acquainted with recent works and discoveries in the field of numismatic studies in India. These may indeed be too well-known to be repeated here. Similarly, our colleagues are aware of the problems which call for immediate attention. We restrain ourselves from stressing the obvious.

There are, however, a few branches of numismatic study which have not yet received the attention they deserve. We went to deal at length with one of them in order to bring out in relief its relevance and importance in the field of numismatic researches in India.

The study of art in coinage in our country is still in its infancy. The prime difficulty in pursuing it is the rather extraordinary qualifications demanded of the researcher. He will have to be an art historian as well as a numismatist. These apparent impediments, however, may make the job for him quite challanging and exciting. To highlight this multidimensional research we propose to draw your attention to the stylistic features of coinages struck by non-Indian rulers for circulation in *inter alia* the Indian subcontinent and/or its borderlands during the centuries immediately before and after the beginning of the Christian era.

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* Presidential Address at the 65th Session at Shillong in 1977.

B

Coins of the early non-Indian rulers of the north western part of the Indian subcontinent and its borderlands can be broadly divided into two classes. The first consists of those which were meant for circulation in *inter alia* either or both of these regions, but were not minted there. The second class includes the pieces which were issued as well as circulated in either or both of these territories. The vast majority of the coins of both the categories, bearing designs and legends, were struck from dies with the help of anvils and hammers.

The negative impression of obverse and reverse types could have been engraved, perhaps following an original design, on two separate dies of metal (or stone) with the help of such instruments as a graver's wheel, drills of different shapes and sizes, a burin, a hammer and perhaps a compass. A positive impression of the device concerned could also have been made in specially prepared clay. It could be then covered by molten metal, which would receive the negative impression of the device on its gradually hardened surface.

Thus the standard of production of a coin depended not only on the metal used for it, but also, to a great extent, on the skill of the person or persons responsible for designing and engraving or etching the relevant types. As an artist or artists, he or they could not have been unaware of the activities of his or their compatriots engaged in enriching different other branches of art. So we may profitably endeavour to see how far these coins can be called objects of art and how far they reflect the trends in contemporary art.

The Darics and Sigloi, the gold and silver coins of the Achaemenid empire, carried the fully clothed effigy of the emperor on the obverse. Though it is doubtful whether the Darics were in regular circulation in the Indian subcontinent, they were probably used in its borderlands. The head-dress, treatment of hair, the folds like "quarter-circles" and "pipes" on the long garment of Darius I, as shown on several Darics and double Darics, are comparable with similar features of his sculptural representations found at Persepolis. It appears that the die-engravers tried to capture the spirit of contemporary sculpture.

The relation between sculptures and coins are more pronounced in Greek specie. The designs on early Greek coins were executed in high relief so as to give the die-engravers full opportunity to employ the skill required in effecting a sense of dimension in sculptured forms. Often the die-engravers, like the gem-engravers, copied in detail the well-known cult statues (G. M. A. Richeter, *A Hand Book of Greek Art,* p. 119; figs. 148 and 152; C. H. V. Sutherland, *Art in Coinage,* p. 50; F. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, *Ancient Coins*, pls. 2 and 3; M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, figs. 564, 565 and 566; etc.).

The head of Athena on Attic coins of c. 4th century B. C., many of which found their way to the Indian subcontinent through trade and commerce, radiates a soft graciousness, which was one of the chief characteristics of the Greek sculpture of that period. "The smile playing gently over her parted lips" and "the melting gaze of the eyes with their bright and joyous expressions" anticipate the style of Praxiteles. The physiognomical details can be compared with the representations of Aphrodite of Knidos (350-330 B. C.) (now in the Vatican Museum), Apollo Sauroktonos (350-330 B. C.) (now in the Vatican Museum), Aphrodite of Arles (350-330 B. C.) (now in the Louvre Museum), Artemis from Gabii (350-330 B. C.) (now in the Louvre Museum), the originals of all of which are attributed to Praxiteles.

The two coins of Alexander the Great and one of Philips III Aridaeus, found at Taxila, show, like coins of similar types, the royal head wearing a lion's skin on the obverse and the enthroned Zeus holding an eagle and a sceptre on the reverse. The trunk, head and limbs of Zeus face different directions, and thereby impart to the figure a sense of movement in true Lysippian style as suggested by such works of Lysippos as Apoxyomenos (325-300 B. C.), Herakles Epitrapezios, etc. This inference is in keeping with the fact that Lysippos made several portraits of Alexander. The style of showing the full figure of Alexander on coins commemorating his battle with Porus also betray the Lysippian tendency to show arid and slender figures for imparting to them an appearance of greater height.

The influence of the same style may be traced in similar features in the treatment of different figures on the coins of the early Seleucid Kings. The association of Lysippos with the Seleucids is indicated by the fact that he made a portrait of Seleucus I. No doubt, the richness of modelling and the thick folds of the drapery, as shown on these coins, relate them also to the school of Pergamon. But then many characteristics of the art of Pergamon may be traced to the style initiated by Lysippos.

Some of the Seleucid coins have been unearthed in the borderlands of the Indian subcontinent. But none of these or of the coins described above was minted in the Indian subcontinent or its borderlands. But the discoveries of these pieces in these territories and the hypothesis that some of these coin-types were imitated there, suggest that the local moneyers were aware of their presence. Such coins and also sculptures from such Hellenistic sites as Ai Khanum (near the Oxus in Afghanistan), etc., indicate that local sculptors had some opportunity to be familiar with Hellenic and Hellenistic styles.

The coins of the Bactrian Greeks or Early Indo-Greeks assumes significance when judged in the light of the above observations. Unlike the earlier coins, these were minted in and for circulation in the noth-western part of the Indian subcontinent and/or its borderlands (including Bactria). These coins bear royal portraits on the obverse and representations of various deities on the reverse. Typologically they belong to the third period of the Greek coinage. Animal types prevailed in the first period which ended with the Persian wars. The figures of divinities constituted the majority of monetary devices in the second period, ranging from the Persian Wars to Alexander the Great. During the third period, which lasted from Alexander to the end of the autonomous issues, the variety of types was increased and a bold innovation was made in introducing life-like portraitures on coins.

It is interesting to note that royal portraits began to appear on Hellenic or Hellenistic coins regularly for the first time in the lands to the east of the Aegean Sea, where the peoples were accustomed to the rule of individuals with absolute power and where a despotic ruler would have liked to make his subjects familiar and impressed with the "true appearance" of their "lawful" monarch. These considerations and also the craving for realism (in modelling, in movement, in expression and in the scope of the subjects treated), which became the great motive force behind the Hellenistic art movement of the 3rd century B. C., initiated the series of portraits on the coins of the Seleucids and the Bactrian Greeks. The

Seleucid king Antiochus I (293-280 B. C.) is shown on his coin with all the pathos of human, as opposed to the divine power indicated by the heads of Alexander or Seleucus I on coins. The portrait of Antiochus I and those of his successors, particularly of Antiochus II and III, must have been the immediate source of inspiration for the moneyers of the Bactrian Greeks, who introduced portraits on the coins of the Bactrian ruler Diodotus I. This is clear from a comparative study of three series of coins (if all of them are considerrd to include genuine pieces). The coins belonging to the first series bear the head of Antiochus II on the obverse and Naked Zeus hurling thunderbolt and the name of Antiochus II on the reverse. The pieces attributed to the second series display the head of Diodotus I on the obverse, but the name of Antiochus II and Naked Zeus on the reverse. The head and also the name of Diodotus I appear on the third series of coins. The busts of old Euthydemus I, Demetrius I, wearing an elephant's scalp, and Antimachus, wearing a kausia and having a "half-mocking" smile, are so real in appearance that each of them seems to represent the king concerned in all faithfulness. To this class of portraits we may assign those on the coins of Demetrius II, Euthydemus II, Pantaleon and Agathocles. All these might have been the products of one single school of engravers. The bust of Eucratides I, which is also realistically portrayed, is surrounded by a reel and bead or astragalus border, a feature borrowed from the coins of Antiochus III or IV on Seleucus IV. Busts on at least some of the coins of Heliocles, Menander I and Hermaeus may be taken as faithful representations of their heads. Th. Allouche-Le Page thinks that the busts on Eucratidean coins indicate, when compared with those on the specie of the early Euthydemids, a tendency for idealisation, rigid majesty and a taste for symbolic ornamentation.

The reverse devices of these coins bear represenations of varieties of Greek divinities like Herakles, Zeus, Apollo, Nike, Athena, Dioscuri, Helios, Poseidon, Demeter, Artemis and Tyche. Some of these figures attest to great artistic merit of the die-engravers.

The problem of engraving the devices on the round format of coins was solved, as in the cases of earlier Greek coins, with the help of exergue, marginal borders, and borders formed by inscriptions. Bold and prominent reliefs were employed, often on large flans of tetradrachms, to impart three dimensional effects to the figures. The busts on the obverse as well as the figures on the reverse have clearly formed cheeks, broad and smooth foreheads and sunken eyes. Deep furrows divide their locks of hair and beard. Bare bodies show muscles and minute anatomical details. There is a tendency for perferring fleshy to skinny types of figures. The figures rarely stand in rigid pose. A sense of movement is indicated either by the position of their limbs or by partial torsion of their bodies. The drapery is thick and is given a volume independent of the figure. The thick, high and sometimes agitated ridges of the drapery give to the figure an intense colouristic sense of light and shadow.

It is highly significant that the identical characteristics are traceable in the figures in the sculptural frieze narrating the fight between gods and giants, which decorated the altar of Zeus at Pergamon in ancient Mysia (now in Turkey). This frieze, dated to the first half of the 2nd century B. C., belonged to the Baroque period of the Hellenistic art, which was still saturated with Lysippian concepts.

An eminent scholar classified the coins of the Indo-Greeks into three classes on the basis of differences between the styles of execution. He located the coins of class I in the Kabul area, those of class II in Gandhāra, and those of class III in the Punjab (Sialkot) region (now of Pakistan). But chronological as well as geographical factors might have been responsible for the differences. Moreover, artists of inferior calibre could have been employed for engraving dies, if sculptors of superior skill were not available. Again, the great majority of silver coins of the rulers who are generally included among the early Indo-Greeks conform to at least some aesthetic standard. In fact, the persistence of the same or similar stylistic features on a great a number of coins, dies of which were obviously prepared with consummate skill, should suggest the existence of a school of engravers of dies and gems. There might have been among them artists hailing from Hellenistic centres (outside the Indo-Greek territory) and also local artists trained by the former (with *inter alia* the help of imported objects of art and sculptures found locally at Hellenistic sites). Though this school was essentially Hellenistic in spirit and style it was receptive enough to adopt such non-Hellenistic devices as an Indian Yakshī in a baggy garment (on coins of Agathocles and Pantaleon), a six-arched symbol and a tree within railing (on some copper pieces of Agathocles), and a deity wearing a Phrygian cap (on coins of Hermaios and Amyntas), representations of Vāsudeva and Balarāma (on a few coins of Agathocles) a serpent-legged giant (yaksha ?) (on coins of Telephus) and Ganeśa (?) (noticeable in a certain coin-type of Hermaios) *(XXIXth International Congress of Orientalists, Abstracts of Papers,* p. 53).

Some of the stylistic features of this school may be favourably compared with deeply incised lines on the hair, the shape of the smiling face, clearly formed cheek and the thick folds of the heavy drapery of the figures in some of the sculptures (in stone, gold and terracotta) found in Gandhāra and detable to the 2nd or 1st century B. C. It appears that the engravers, referred to above, formed a part of a Hellenistic school of art with Bactria or rather some place in Bactria as its centre. It sometimes adopted non-Hellenistic motifs and devices as its artists gradually came into contact with such elements in and outside Bactria proper. This school probably acted as one of the channels through which classical elements percolated into inter alia Gandhāra.

The vitality of the Hellenistic-Bactrian school was to some extent sapped perhaps by the political disturbance caused by the nomadic invasions of the Indo-Greek kingdom. This is reflected by stylisation of busts and signs of inferior skill on some later Indo-Greek coins. Intaglio dies with low depth were perhaps used in minting several of these pieces and also the coins of Scythian, Parthian and Scytho-Parthian rulers of the Indian subcontinent. However, the school was certainly not dead. In fact introduction of new iconomic traits and fusion between iconic concepts, which suggests the receptive character and vivacity of the school, is indicated by Artemis, radiating and having a veil floating around her head, Tyche holding a lamp and a patera, a goddess standing between two stars and having a crescent above her head, and Zeus holding a human figure symbolizing thunderbolt appearing on coins of Maues, a lady with a lamp, a lady between vines, deities wearing Phrygian caps, and Amba-Tyche on coins of Azes (I or II), and Poseidon-Śiva on coins of Gondophares I. Animals as independent devices began to appear more frequently on Scytho-Parthian coins, probably (to some extent) under the influence of local moneyers, and non-Hellenic coin devices. Again, though the old deties also continued to appear on Scytho-Parthian coins of the 1st century B. C. and early 1st century A. D. some changes in style of execution may be noticed. Eyes of the deties on some of the coins of Maues are wide open, sometimes bulging. The hair is indicated by button-like motifs. The draperies on several coins of Azes I or II bear folds consisting of straight lines and quarter-circles. These are delineated in the same manner in the sculptures from Palmyra and in a toilet tray found at a Scytho-Parthian stratum at Sirkap (Taxila). The bulging eyes, an Iranian (Parthian) feature, which can be noticed on some Scytho-Parthian coins, also appear in a sculpture unearthed at a Scytho-Parthian stratum at Sirkap. Certain coins of Azilises betray frontal treatment of objects—a Parthian (as well as Bactarian) characteristic. A similar trait is noticed in sculptures from Palmyra and the Sirkap toilet tray referred to above.

The art of portraying busts, which had fallen into disuse during the periods of Maues and the groups of Vonones and Azes I was revived by the moneyers of Orthagnes, Gondophares I and their successors. But the style of executing them was no longer Hellenic or Hellenistic. They closely followed—in the treatment of hair, fillet and drapery—the busts on the Imperial Parthian coins.

It appears that the Hellenistic-Bactrian school underwent some qualitative changes during the age of Scytho-Parthian domination. The Hellenistic-Bactrian art, with its ateliers in the area of Afghanistan and extreme north-western parts of the Indian subcontinent, or at least the art of the coinage of these regions became Hellenistic-Irano (or-Partho)-Bactrian in character. This art played some part in injecting Iranian (including Parthian and Bactrian) elements in Gandhāra art.

As indicated above, the use of animal devices on coins of the Scytho-Parthians in North-Western India and thereabouts indicates that the art of their coinage also came under *inter alia* the local influence in the North-Western part of the Indian subcontinent, where animals appeared on pre-Greek coins. Plastic modelling of Indian art probably influenced the flexible pose of Amba-Tyche on coins of Azes. Local Indian influence in Scytho-Parthian coinage reached its apex with the appearance of Gaja-Lakshmī on a class of coins of Azilises. The heavy breasts and hips of the goddess and her general appearance closely resemble those of the lady on a votive tablet of the time of Śoḍāsa (first half of the 1st century A. D.) found in the Mathurā region. This coin-type of Azilises, which has already been attributed to the Mathura mint, cannot be strictly considered as a product of the school referred to above. This should be associated with or should be considered to bear affinity to the Mathurā school of art. Hence, even though the vast majority of Scytho-Parthian coinage may be attributed to the Bactrian school or rather Hellenistic-Irano (or Partho)-Bactrian school, some of them may have been the products of or at least might have stylistic relations with local schools of Northern India. Such coins reflected the trends in contemporary sculptural art.

But even such an Indian school received western traits probably through the Bactrian ateliers. We may refer to the peculiar treatment of the drapery of a female figure in frieze from Hekateion at Lagina (Caria) (now Turkey), dated to the late 2nd-early 1st century B. C. Part of her drapery falls in loose folds round the shoulders and arms and stands on either side of the hips. Identical treatment of drapery can be noticed on certain coins of Maues and Azes I, in a sculpture from a Scytho-Parthian stratum (II) at Sirkap and also in several sculptural panels found at or near Mathurā. As the Legina frieze is the oldest among the objects showing this stylistic trait, it might have reached Mathurā from West Asia via Bactria and Gandhāra.

A study of the stratified evidence from different sites of Gandhāra suggests that from a stage of indigenous and Indian dominance the art of Gandhāra entered a complex made up of first of two styles, Indian and Hellenistic, and then (basically) of three styles, Indian, Hellenistic and Iranian (including Bactrian and Parthian ?). These styles existed *pari passu.* The Bactrian art of the Hellenistic phase, so far as it is known from coins, may have extended to Gandhāra. Similarly, the Bactrian art of Hellenistic-Partho-Bactrian phase, so far as it is known from the Scytho-Parthian coins, also extended its sphere up to the Taxila area. Stratified data show tendencies towards a synthesis of different styles and absorption of elements of Graeco-Roman or Roman art, which took place only in the late Scytho-Parthian period. This led to the evolution of a new style related to the Buddhist art of Gandhāra.

The majority of coins of the Kushāṇa king Kujula Kadphises and of the pieces ascribed to Soter Megas may be related, typologically, to the coins of the groups of Azes I and Gondophares I.

"The seated male", "the enthroned Zeus", "enthroned male", etc., on coins of Kujula Kadphises are rigid and frontal in appearance. The standing Zeus on his coins is clad (as on coins of the group of Gondophares I) in Parthian (or Iranian), and not Hellenic, drapery. The plastic quality of Indian art is betrayed by the modelling of the figures of animals on at least some of his "humped bull : two humped camel" coins. However, busts of Hermaeus on Kujula's coins or the figures in "bust : standing archer" coins of this ruler, which are crude copies of the imitations of some original types, cannot be associated with any school of creative art. The copy of the bust of Augustus (or Tiberius ?) on Kujula's coins closely follows the prototype on a variety of Roman coins made available to the Kushāṇa moneyers through trade and commerce.

The stylistic treatment of the equestrian figure and standing Zeus appearing on a class of coins of Soter Megas closely resembles that of the similar figures on the coins of the group of Gondophares I. The radiating bust, which betrays some originality in the representation of the king on coins, perhaps lays stress on the belief in the supernatural character of kingship. The treatment of the drapery of the bust is Hellenistic. But its open and almost bulging eyes betray Iranian (Parthian or Bactrian) influence. The figure of horse on the reverse of some of his coins meant for circulation throughout the empire possesses grace and volume. But the same animal is rigid in appearance on some other pieces of this class of coins. The equestrian figure holding *aṅkuśa* on these coins may be compared with the same figure on coins of Azes II. The devices of "diademed bust : standing Zeus holding a sceptre and thunderbolt" coins of Soter Megas, which are copies of the imitations of a class of coins of the Indo-Greek king Heliocles, and also the "helmeted bust" on some coins of Soter Megas, which may also be taken as a copy of one of the imitations of similar busts on Bactrian Greek coins, do not indicate any plasticity or originality in treatment.

We can notice the influences of the art of the Hellenistic coinage of Bactrian Greeks on the specie of the Kushāṇa ruler Miaos, who minted his coins for an area of Bactria [and (or including) Transoxiana], where coins of the early Bactrian Greeks had been imitated. However, the physiognomical details (including the forehead receding backward) and the treatment of hair and hair-band of Miaos, as shown on his tetradrachms, are comparable with similar features in certain sculptures from Khalchayan (South Uzbekistan, USSR). G. A. Pugochenkova has attributed these products to the Bactrian school of art.

A study of available materials from eastern and northern Afghanistan and also Transoxiana and Western Gandhāra suggests certain stylistic features of this art during the Kushāṇa period. The sculptures show oval shaped faces with open, somewhat bulging, or half-closed eyes, and with hair (sometimes parted in the middle) shown by deep incisions or by curls looking like buttons. Different types of head-dress, including fillet and wreath, can be noticed. Often bare bodies indicate muscles and other details. The dresses consisting of long or short trousers and coat or long garment, are somewhat angular in treatment. Semicircular folds on the sleeves (noticeable also in Parthian sculptures) and concave, angular and straight "pipe" like folds (traceable to the Achaemenid origin) can be seen on garments. The last mentioned features can be seen in the statues from the dynastic sanctuary of Surkh-kotal (Afghanistan). These and the Kushāṇa statues at Mat near Mathurā represent "an extremely linear and angular conception in which the figure, though free, is set into the surface and is frontal" in appearance.

Some of the features of the Bactrian art of the Kushāṇa period (like oval shaped faces with open eyes, beards indicated by deep incisions, angular and linear treatment of standing figures, the semi-circular folds on the sleeves and angular folds on garments, etc.) can be noticed in the representations of V'ima, Kanishka I and Huvishka. Though the device showing "the king sacrificing at an altar" was borrowed from a coin-type of the Arsacid king Gotarzes I, the standing royal figures on coins breathe the air of the art revealed by the remains of the dynastic sanctuaries. The royal busts on coins also follow the same school, though some of Huvishka's portraits may be compared with "the naive" portraits on some Roman coins.

The reverse devices indicate greater plasticity, flexibility and roundedness of form, thereby suggesting influences from the direction of Gandhāra or perhaps Mathurā. This difference becomes clear by a comparison between the standing figure of V'ima on side and that of Śiva (with his bull) on the other. Wherever the drapery of a figure is treated as a separate or voluminous mass, there is a conscious attempt, as in the cases of certain Gandhāra sculptures including the Hastnagar panel of the year 384, to make the form underneath the garment visible. This tendency led, as in the cases of some Gandhāra sculptures, to the introduction of semi-transparent garment. In doing so influences might have been received also from the Mathurā school of art. Somewhat sensuous treatment of female figures on certain later coins of the Imperial Kushāṇas is comparable with the similar feature of numerous sculptures of the Mathurā school or of the figures on the ivory objects found at Begram.

The figures on the obverse and reverse of many of the coins of V'ima, Kanishka and Huvishka wear a transparent over-garment which envelops the thick garment underneath. A similar feature may perhaps be noticed on some coins of Maues, and is certainly discernible in *inter alia* representations of a group of Muses. The group of Muses was originally created perhaps by Philiskos of Rhodes and was later copied several times by the Romans.

The royal figures and deities on coins of Kanishka I and Huvishka have often sharp features. But sometimes the physiognomical features appear to be blunt, probably due to inferior skill of the die-engraver and defective minting technique. However, some of the reverse figures which betray boldness in handling of form, indicate also rapidity of execution, and a deliberate taste for the unfinished. It is interesting to note that these are some of the characteristics also of the Alexandrian school of art.

There is nothing wrong in suggesting the influences coming from different art centres of the Roman empire. The Kushāṇas had commercial transactions with the Roman empire. Their gold coins were introduced under the influence of the Roman monetary system. The imperial portraits on Roman coins, which often suggested the divine and superhuman power of the issuers, might have inspired the Kushāṇa moneyers to show royal portraits and busts on Kushāṇa coins as rising from clouds or as associated with flames or a halo, etc., all indicating the superhuman power of the king known as the "son of god". The idea of presenting V'ima as driving a chariot might have been inspired by a coin-type showing Augustus driving a biga. We do not know whether the Kushāṇa device alludes, like the Roman type, to a historical event. Nevertheless, there is hardly any doubt that, like the Roman rulers, the Kushāṇas used the art of coinage as a medium of propaganda to aggrandise the royal power. The appearance on Kushāṇa coins of such deities like Pharro, personifying the Iranian concept of the glory and legitimacy of kings, or of a divinity called Shaoreoro, representing the "desirable Kingdom" (*Sharevar Kshathra<Vairya*), or of

Orlagno (Verethragna), called *inter alia baro-hvareno* or "bearing royal glory", should indicate even the establishment of an imperial cult.

Bewildering varieties of deities appear on the reverse of the coins of Kanishka I and Huvishka. They are identifiable chiefly by means of the legends accompanying them. Of these deities Ardokhsho (the "spirit of Fortune"), Ashaeixsho (= Asha Vahishta or "Multitudes of Truth"), Athsho (= Atar or Fire God), Lrooaspo (= Druvāspa the masculine form of Druvāspā, the guardian of the health of beasts ?), Manao-bago (God Vohu Manah or Good Mind ?), Mao (Moon), Miiro (Sun), Mioro (Mithra), Mozdooano (Mazdah the Triumphant), Oormozdo (Ahura Mazda), Nana (Nanaia, Nanashao, etc., the Babylonian goddess Nanā, who was also popular in Central Asia), Oado (Wind god), Odiio, Orlagno (Verethragna, Vṛithragna, the Irresistible), Oanindo (Avestic Vanainti, a goddess associated with the Lord of Victory Verethragna), Pharro, Teiro (personifying the Zoroastrian month Tir) or Zi (or e) ro (Iranian name for Zahra or Venas), Rishto (or Rishno) (Avestan Rashnu, personification of righteousness "who best wards off the foes") or Ridh (or Ride) (Indian *Ṛiddhi* = Fortune ?) or Rion (or Riom = Roma ?), etc., may be attributed to the Zoroastrian or rather Iranian pantheon. Erakilo (Herakles), Elios (Helios or Sun God), Ephaistos (Hephaistos or Fire God), Salene (male Moon deity), etc., on Kushāṇa coins were of Hellenic or Hellenistic origin. Sarapo (Serapis, a Graeco-Egyptian divinity of Alexandria), Oroe (Egyptian Horus), Rion or Riom (Roma ?) etc., may be considered as deities of the Roman empire. Kushāṇa coins also display such Indian deities as Oesho (Siva), Ommo (Umā) Maaseno (Mahāsena), Skando-Komaro (Skanda-Kumāra), Bizago (Viśākha), and Boddo (Buddha), mentioned in coins legends also as Sakamano Bos (or d) do, i. e. Śākyamuni Buddha or Buddha, the Sage of the Śākyas, Bago Bas (or d) do, i. e. Bhagavat Buddha or God Buddha. and Ṣogo Boudo i. e. Śākya Buddha.

There are instances of more than one deity relating to a particular phenomenon appearing on Kushāṇa coins. We may refer to cases of Athsho and Hephaistos (Gods of Fire), Mao and Salene, etc. It is also interesting to note that though Selene, according to Greek mythology, is a moon goddess, Salene (for Selene) on Kushāṇa coins is shown as a male deity, in many respects identical with the Iranian moon-god Mao. Similarly, Hephaistos is more Iranian than Hellenic in appearance, even though the icon might have been originally conceived on the model of a classical image of the deity, for which there had been traces in the earlier Scytho-Parthian coinage. Helios, the Sun-god, is not shown, as in Hellenic art or on some coins of the Graeco-Bactrian king Plato, as driving a chariot. His appearance is identical with that of Mihira, the Iranian Sun-god, as representated on Kushāṇa coins. These Greek gods are as if "coefficients of the indigenous ones". It may be noted in this connection that a female divinity bearing a cornucopia, apparently of Ardokhsho, on a coin of Huvishka is described thereon as Mioro, i. e. Mihira, the solar deity, or as Mioro, i. e. Mithra. We are not sure whether she represents a new creation, a female counterpart of Mihira or Mithra, or the legend concerned was a mistake. Similarly, a female deity on a Kushāṇa coin, having the appearance of Nanā, is described as Odiio.

This is not to suggest that the Kushāṇa moneyers did not create any new iconic type. In fact, a few of the iconic representations of Zoroastrian concepts might well have been creations of Kushāṇa die-cutters. Sometimes even a natural phenomenon was personified. Thus a bearded figure, described as Oakhsho on Huvishka's coins apparently represented the river Oxus. Often the deities or their attributes betrayed the syncretistic trends in the religious thoughts and movements of the Kushāṇa period. Some coins of Huvishka show Ommo, holding a lotus, as the female consort of Oesho, while a few other pieces of the same ruler display the fignre of Nanā, holding a cornucopia, as standing by the side of Oesho. This indicates identificaton of Ommo (<Umā or Ammā<Ambā ?) with Nanā, both of whom were considered as divine mothers. Nanā might have received the horn of plenty from Tyche, the goddess of fortune as well as of the city, and through the concept of Umā or Ambā as the divinity in charge of fortune. On some coins the ithyphallic, three-headed and four-armed figure of Śiva not only holds an antilope and a trident, but also carries a thunderbolt (or a drum) and a wheel. Thunderbolt is held by Zeus in numerous objects of art, while the wheel, a solar symbol, is generally associated with Vishṇu in the art of *inter alia* the Kushāṇa age.

The number of deities on Kushāṇa coins far exceeds that of the gods and goddesses represented in the Indo-Greek and Scytho-Parthian coinages. Their number may be compared with that of the deities on Roman coins. The appearance of deities belonging to various faiths was perhaps symptomatic of spirit of religious toleration fostered in the empire.

Some of the divinities on the coins of the Kushāṇas are well represented in the sculptural art of their empire. Most important of them are the Buddha, and to a lesser extent, Oesho (Śiva). Among other gods and goddesses references may be made to Herakles, Herakles-Serapis, Ardokhsho, Nanā, Orlagno(?), Mao, Maasena (Mahāsena), Mihira Oado, and representations of some deities on Kushāṇa coinage (like a female deity standing with a cornucopia, enthroned Manaobago, etc.) correspond with those of the same deities in the glyptic art of the Kushāṇa age.

Gods and Goddesses of Iranian pantheon dominate the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka. Some of them, such as Mao and Mihiro, repesented popular forms of religion, while a few others, like Ashaeixsho and Pharro, personified abstract ideas. All these Iranian deities or ideas could have been known in Bactria, which bordered the Parthian empire and which was in the sphere of Iranian culture, even though many of them did not become part of regular imagery of the empire. Bactria became familiar with Hellenic or Hellenistic deities and cults at least from the period of rule of the Bactrian Greeks. West Asiatic traders and caravaneers visiting Bactria, through which international trade-routes passed, could have made their faiths known to the latter country. Archaeological discoveries suggest the popularity of Buddhism and Śaivism in Bactria and nearby territories in the Kushāṇa age. Traditional patrons of Buddhism—including merchants and bankers—might have been mainly responsible for the flourishing state of Buddhism in Bactria.

It is not suggested that the deities on coins of Kanishka I and Huvishka, were known only in Bactria. In fact, several of these deities were popular in different parts of the empire outside Bactria. Again, the appearance of a few deities of the Roman empire on Kushāṇa coins and the impact of Roman coins-types (like standing Sarapis on Alexandrian pieces struck under Hadrian, Diana on Alexandrian coins of Hadrian (?), Pallas-Minerva on Roman pieces from the time of Antoninus Pius, Ares-Mars on coins of Trajan and Pius, Trias standing in an adicula on coins of Hadrian, etc.) on some Kushāṇa coin-devices (like standing Sarapo, Nanā as huntress (?), Rishno (?), Shaoreoro, three gods in a building (?) respectively on Huvishka's coins) may be explained on the basis of the hypothesis of Kushāṇa moneyers' knowledge of the Roman specie, and on that of contacts between the Kushāṇa territory and the Roman Orient. Even sculptors, miniature cult-sttaues and/or pattern books from the Roman empire might have reached the Kushāṇa dominions. The enthroned Sarapo (Serapis) with *polos* head-dress and a sceptre certainly reminds us of Alexandrian Serapis, even though there are some differences between the two representations of this deity. Again, the desire of the Kushāṇas to propagate their imperial glory could have been responsible for the appearance of such divinities as Pharro, Shaoreoro, and others on Kushāṇa coins. Nevertheless, the occurrence on Kushāṇa coins of some of the popular Indian, Iranian and Hellenistic deities, which are known from other sources as having been worshipped in different parts of the Kushāṇa empire, should suggest that they represented various faiths practised within its limits. It is, therefore, noteworthy that Jainism and Bhāgavatism, two of the important faiths preached in the Kushāṇa empire, are not known to have representations among the deities on Kushāṇa coins, even though icons belonging to these cults and to the Kushāṇa age have been found in certain localities once included in the Kushāṇa empire. The only important area of the empire, where neither of these cults appears to have been popular in the period in question, was Bactria. Significantly enough, the river Oxus, bordering Bactria (and not the Indus or the Ganges) was considered imporant enough to be personified (as Oakhsho) on coins of Huvishka. These facts indicate that in the matter of choosing reverse devices for coins, struck from official mints, Bactria was given preference over other regions of the empire. Bactria, as we have pointed out elsewhere, was to the Kushāṇas most important of all the provinces of their empire.

It seems that the idea of having so many dieties on Kushāṇa coins seems to have been inspired by the Kushāṇa moneyers' knowledge of the Roman coin-types and some cults of the Roman Orient, gained through direct Kushāṇo-Roman commercial contacts, the state policy to emphasise on deities indicating the right and might of the Kushāṇa rule, and the desire to reflect on coinage the faiths and religious ideas current in Bactria. The heterogenous religious elements in Kushāṇa coinage betrays also an eclectic attitude of the Kushāṇas towards religion.

As we have already noted, the number of deities on coins decreased from the time of Vāsudeva I. Only Oesho and Nanā are seen on coins of Vāsudeva I, and only Nanā, Ardokhsho and Oesho (Śiva) appear on those those of Kanishka III. The last two deities are portrayed on coins of Vāsudeva II.

The appearance of so few deities indicates a change in Kushāṇa monetary policy. We have suggested elsewhere that the practice of using coinage, like the Roman emperors, as a medium of propaganda was probably discarded sometime in the reign of Vāsudeva I, whose period incidentially saw the end of direct maritime contact between the Roman and the Kushāṇa empires.

The Kushāṇa rulers perhaps also became more sectarian in their religious policy than their forbears. If the deities on the coins of this age indicate the religious belief of the ruling class, then it seems to have been mostly the adherent of the cult of Oesho (Śiva) during the later period of the Kushāṇa empire. Nanā had already been identified with Ommo, the consort of Oesho, and Ardokhsho, the "Spirit of Fortune", might have developed at least a conceptual relationship with Nanā (Ommo), who had been shown on some earlier Kushāṇa coins as holding the horn of plenty.

The composition of the royal figure on the coins of Vāsudeva I is somewhat more arid and compact than that of the royal figures on earlier Kushāṇa coins. There is also a change in costume of the king. The tunic, which is sometimes mailed, is more close-fitting and shortened than the tunic of the royal figures on the coins of his predecessors. Heavy straight folds appear on his trousers and on the sleeves of his upper garment. A similar feature is noticeable in Bactrian sculptures. Heavy ridges can also be noticed on the drapery of the image of Hārītī from Skarah Dheri and in some other specimens of sculptural art of north-western India of about 2nd-3rd century A. D.

Standing Nanā on the gold coins of Vāsudeva I can be stylistically compared with her remarkable representations on coins of Kanishka I and Huvishka. However, the single headed Oesho (Śiva) without bull on some coins of Vāsudeva I is rather effiminate in appearance, and cannot be favourably compared with the vigorous representations of the same deity on coins of V'ima. But single-headed or three-faced Siva with bull on a number of Vāsudeva's coins radiates strength and vigour. His oval-shaped face and well-formed muscular body indicates influence of the Gandhāra School while the staring and often bulging eyes (of at least some of his figural representations) may allude to the impact of Bactrian (Iranian) art. Heavy ridges can be noticed as marking the folds of his lower garment.

On some coins he is shown in a *dvibhaṅga* pose. His mount is also portrayed with great artistic skill. But here again, as on coins of Kanishka I and Huvishka, the details of the face of the deity and also of the head of the mount are often left unfinished.

Artistry is also evident in the production of a coin of Kanishka III, now preserved in the British Museum. The king on the obverse wears a short mailed coat, trousers, boots and a peaked helmet or crown. His figure is well-proportioned, though perhaps more compact than the royal figures on coins of Kanishka I and Huvishka. Folds of his trousers and the sleeves of his upper garment are marked with heavy ridges, a characteristic of contemporary sculpture. Flames are shown rising from the left shoulder of the king. This feature suggests that the mint masters of the later period of the Kushāṇa empire did not forget to emphasise, at least occasionally, the concept of divine origin of Kushāṇa kingship.

On the reverse of this piece appears Ardokhsho seated on a backless chair. Her feet rest on a circular mat or a lotus. She wears, like the deities on earlier Kushāṇa coins, a transparent over-garment which envelops a thick under-garment. Her well—formed limbs, slender waist and developed breasts give enough evidence of the die-engravers' mature sense of plasticity and modelling. In these features we may perhaps discern best traits of Gandhāran and Mathuran schools of art, though her open staring eyes also betray Iranian influence. On the whole, the diety radiates a sublime beauty which makes the piece in question (now preserved in the British Museum), one of the finest products of the later day Kushāṇa art.

The deity holds in her half-raised hand a lotus, which looks an artichoke. Similar representation of lotus can be noticed in the right hand of a female figure in stone, found at Sirkap and also in that of Ambā, the city deity of Pushkalāvatī, on a gold medallion. The deity in question wears a *polos*, which characterises her as a city deity. From this point of view she can be compared with the city deity of Pushkalāvat, who also wears a turreted crown, simulating the turreted rampart wall of the city. On the other hand, the *polos* and the cornucopia, held by her left arm, tend to distinguish her as Demeter or Tyche, well-represented in the art of Hellenistic and Scytho-Parthian periods. As her name (Tukhe, meaning "fortune") suggests, Tyche was considered as the goddess of fortune. Pausanius categorically stated that Tyche had a *polos* on her head and held in her right hand a horn of plenty. This deity of fortune was also considered in several cases as a city-goddess. The fusion of concepts common to both Ambā, the city deity of Pushkalāvatī, and Tyche, the city-goddess as well as deity of fortune, led to the birth of a syncretistic deity. Ambā-Tyche, wearing chiton, the *polos* head-dress and holding a cornucopia and a lotus, was represented on some coins of Indo-Greek king Philoxenus and also on an intaglio seal, datable to c. 2nd century A. D. or to a still earlier period.

These considerations tend to identify the female deity on the coins of Kanishka III as Ambā-Tyche and also as the goddess of Pushkalāvatī. However, the legend, which appears to the right of the deity in the coin-type in question describes her as Ardokhsho. The term Ardokhsho signifies the spirit of fortune [*ārt* <*ṛīti* (= fortune) + *w'khṣh* (*vakhṣh*) (" = spirit")]. So Ardokhsho was another goddess of fortune. She wears a *polos* on head and holds a cornucopia on coins of Kanishka I and Huvishka. So by or even before the days of the early Imperial Kushāṇas she was identified with Tyche, the goddess of fortune as well as of the city. The evidence of the coin-type under review suggests that by the period of Kanishka III she absorbed certain traits of Ambā or Ambā-Tyche. Here again, this absorption was facilitated by the similarity between certain concepts of these deities.

The "Ardokhsho" reverse shows, as it has been suggested elsewhere, that the coins concerned were meant for circulation in the land of five rivers. The artistically represented figure of Ardokhsho in this coin-type of Kanishka III indicates that even in the later phase of the empire master die-engravers were available in that territory.

The appearance of Ardokhsho is somewhat stylised on another variety of Kanishka III's coins and on a class of specie of Vāsudeva II. The deity on these pieces sits to front on a throne with a high back. On many of these pieces she is shown with a sensuously treated bulging and elongated abdomen. This feature may betray influence of the Mathurā School of Art.

The deity wears a loose robe with heavy folds. These are often U-shaped (or semi-circular) or triangular or angular in appearance. Triangular shaped pattern can be noticed in some sculptures of later Gandhāran school, while concave semi-circular and angular folds can be noticed on several coins of V'ima, Kanishka and also on the garments in a mumber of Bactrian sculptures and some Gandhāran images including the figure of the Buddha from Loriyan Tangai (dated in the year 318). Though the garment of the female deity appears to be thick on most of these coins, on some of them it seems to be diaphanous. The feet of the deity rest on a circular mat or a lotus. She holds a cornucopia by her left hand or arm and a fillet in her half-stretched right hand. The latter attribute was probably received from Tyche on account of the fusion of certain concepts of these two deities. An object is shown on the head of Ardokhsho on some of the coins in question. This can be identified as *polos*, when compared with the similar head-dress of Ardokhsho on the above noted British Museum piece of Kanishka III.

The details of the oval-shaped face of the deity are left unfinished on the majority of the coins in question. This feature, as we have noted above, is also discernible on numerous coins of Kanishka I and Huvishka. On some of the coins under review the eyes are shown wide open.

The general scheme of presenting Ardokhsho on these coins tallies remarkably with that betrayed by a sculptural representation of this deity found at Begram III and datable to c. 3rd century A. D. This sculpture, which is in the round, portrays the deity as sitting to front on a throne with a high back. The deity wears a loose robe, folds of which are marked with heavy ridges. Nearly angular and semi-circular or U-shaped folds can be noticed on her garment, while the frills of the plait on the lower portion of the garment looks like vertical pipes. The deity holds a cornucopia in her left hand, and has her right hand half-raised. Her nearly oval face has staring eyes. Her headgear may be recognised as a very stylised version of *polos* head-dress.

Though varying in details, this sculpture and the representations of Ardokhsho on the above noted coins, all datable to about the same period, share several common stylistic traits. This shows that even in the last phase of the rule of the Imperial Kushāṇas, their coinage reflected in a large measure stylistic features of the sculptural art of the empire.

Aridity and compactness in the art of portraying royal figure, already discernible on coins of Vāsudeva I, are more pronounced on the pieces under review, and also on other coins of Kanishka III and Vāsudeva

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II. However, the figures on a few of them indicate plasticity in modelling, and their *dvibhaṅga* pose perhaps anticipates the similar posture in which the Gupta kings were shown on their coins in later period. The coin types of Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II influenced, through the coinage of their successors in the Punjab area, certain Gupta coin-devices.

The treatment of the royal dress on the coins concerned is, like that on Vāsudeva I's coins, somewhat different from that of the garments worn by early Kushāna emperors. The tunic is shortened and often mailed. Its lower ends are often curved. There are heavy ridges on the trousers as well as on the upper garment. Some of these look like horizontal or semi-circular pipes. Again, ridges look like small buttons on some pieces. The peaked head-dress of the king on some of these coins are indicated by dots only. This technique is not discernible on early Kushāna coins, including the issues of V'ima, Kanishka and Huvishka. On the whole, the royal figures on the coins of Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II struck in different parts of the empire are tolerably well produced, even though they lack the majestic appearance of the figures of V'ima or Kanishka I on their coins.

One of the reverse devices, used by Kanishka III, shows the goddess Nanā seated on lion. This coin-type, as we have noted elsewhere, may be attributed to a mint to the east of the area where coins with "Ardokhsho" reverse were in circulation. The goddess in the coin-type sits on a lion (standing or walking to left) and holds a fillet and a sceptre. She has a crescent above her head. She wears a long robe, folds of which, indicated by convex ridges or bands, remind one of some figures produced by the late Gandhāra school. Ridges, though not convex, are also seen, as we have noted above, in the Hārītī image from Skarah Dheri. The triangular pattern of some folds, a characteristic of later Gandhāra sculpture, can be traced in the lower portion of the garment of Nanā. The diaphanous treatment of drapery also aligns her with some representations of the later Gandhāra school. It must, however, be admitted that garments on some figures on early Kushāna coins are also transparent. The locks, hanging down her shoulders, and the "wreath" like appearance of her hair above the forehead are comparable with similar features of the icon of Skarah Dheri Hārītī. On the other hand, in the rigid and frontal pose, neatly arranged incisions of hair-lines above the forehead, and the staring eyes of Kanishka III's Nanā one may trace Iranian (Parthian or Bactrian) influence. These stylistic features are also discernible in the Begram Ardokhsho mentioned above.

The lotus (?) under the feet of enthroned Ardokhsho on coins of Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II or under the feet of Nanā on lion in the one of Kanishka III's coin-types perhaps suggests gradual Indianistation of these deities. This process, also discernible on the coins of the successors of the Kushānas in the land of five rivers, later became more evident in the coin-types of the Guptas, some of which show a female deity seated on a lotus.

The sensuous treatment of the bulging and elongated abdomen of Nanā in Kanishka III's coin-type, as in the figures of Ardokhsho on some coins of Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II, may imply influence of the Mathurā school of art.

Śiva with bull and *inter alia* a four-pronged symbol appears on several coins of Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II, which display king at altar on the obverse. These have been attributed elsewhere to the area lying to the west of the land of five rivers (including Gandhāra to the west of the Indus). Śiva is shown either in *samapadasthānaka* or in *dvibhaṅga* pose and his hands, the left of which holds a trident, are placed in various positions on these pieces. The bull behind Śiva stands to left. The details of the face of the deity and also of the head of his mount are often left unfinished. On several pieces Siva and also his mount are beautifully portrayed. His oval-shaped face and well formed muscular body as well as heavy ridges marking the folds of his lower garment align the coins to the Gandhāra school. On the other hand, his staring and often bulging eyes as well as his oval-shaped face and semi-angular or straight folds on his garment remind us of the impact of Bactrian (Iranian) art. The representations of Śiva on all of these coins, however, do not betray the artists' sense of modelling. The treatment of the figure of Śiva on several pieces is flattened and lacking in physical details and artistic nicities. This deficiency was perhaps due to the employment of inferior die-engraver or/and to the defective mode of production.

Same defects may be witnessed in the figures of king and Siva appearing on a variety of genuine coins of Vāsudeva II meant for circulation in and near Bactria. Moreover, here the figures are disproportionate. The head of the king is unusually large. The lower chest and abdomen of Śiva are unusually broad and sometimes rather flat, while the muscles on the upper chest are shown in a peculiar manner. The eyes of Śiva are bulging. There are straight horizontal and vertical folds on garments of the deity and the king. All these features and also rather flat, rigid and and frontal treatment of the representations of the king and Śiva perhaps have parallel examples in contemporary Bactrian sculptures. On the other hand, heavy ridges marking the folds of the garment of the royal figure and of Siva may also be considered as perhaps alluding to the influence of Gandhāra school.

The above study of the stylistic features of the Kushāṇa coinage shows that stylistically the Kushāṇa obverse devices are based on the art of the Bactrian school, whereas the reverse types, especially of V'ima and his sucessors, imbibe mainly the charactristics of Bactrian, Gandhāra and Mathurā schools. The origin of some of the stylistic features discernible in the reverse devices may be traced to the art of the Roman empire. So stylistically the reverse deities cannot be attributed singularly to any of the above particular schools of art. It is better to take them as products of a Kushāṇa imperial art.

Thus the coins of the Kushāṇas, belonging to V'ima and his successors, indicate the creation of an imperial school of art, in which the Bactrian elements were predominant. It seems that the die-cutters in Kushāṇa mints were aware of the developments in contemporary schools of art, traits of which they mastered and partly imitated in etching figures on the dies for the coins meant, at least up to the age of Vāsudeva I, for circulation throughout the empire. These artists, employed in royal mints, obviously enjoyed the patronage of the officialdom, to which Bactria was more important than any other area of the empire. This explains the predominance of Bactrian elements in perhaps an artificially created school or medium of art.

The Bactrian elements can also be discerned in the portrait-statues of Kushāṇa kings and other important personages found at the dynastic sanctuaries at Mat (near Mathurā) and Surkh-kotal (in Afghanistan). J. M. Rosenfiled includes these statues and shrines as well as Kushāṇa coin-types within scope of his study of "dynastic arts" of the Kushāṇas. All of these may better be assigned to an imperial school of art activities.

It may be added that the frontality and rigidity in the treatment of the statues of the Kushāṇa kings may be compared with the frontal and rigid attitudes of portraits of the Parthian period, found at Hatra, Shami, etc.

Similar frontal and static appearance may be noticed in the statue of the Achaemenid king Darius I, unearthed at Susa in Iran. This statue, which bears old Persian, Elamite, Accadian and Egyptian Hieroglyphic inscriptions, bears stylistic affinity to Egyptian sculptural art. It appears from one of the inscriptions that the image was installed in some part of the temple of Atum (at Heliopolis) in Egypt. But since the statue concerned is made of Zagros stone available in Iran, it could have been a copy of an orginal made in Egypt. It has been suggested that the copy was made at Susa either by a local artist, who had been familiar with the Egyptian original, or by an Egyptian artist, who knew the original sculpture. The sculpture, which is the first known free standing royal statue of the Achaemenid age, suggests an Egyptian origin of the relevant branch of Achaemenid art.

The rigidity and frontiality of Parthian portraits may then be traced to the Achaemenid art. In the same source or in the statuary of the Parthians, beside in the earlier indigenous art, we may find the origin of similar traits of the Bactrian school of sculpture of the Kushāṇa age.

Though the new imperial school or medium of expression was an amalgam or rather a conglomeration of different art trends, often stylistically distinct from one another, many of its products may be considered, as our above study bears out, as objects of art. The royal figures on a great number of coins are majestic and awe-inspiring. These obviously served the issures' purpose to convey to the impressionable subjects the might of the Kushāṇa emperors. The reverse devices indicate, as it is well-known, syncretistic trends in religious movements and iconographic developments of the Kushāṇa age. New iconic types betray, among others, the creative faculty of the artists concerned.

Several of the deities on Kushāṇa coins are beautifully portrayed, even though they are necessarily small in appearance. Apparently the artists concerned took great care in engraving their representations on the dies. Some of these representations on coins are literally vibrant with agility and/or personality. For an example, we can refer to the figure of Herakles on a number of Kushāṇa coins which, with its "svelti canon and sheath of muscles rippling under skin", is an embodiment of strength and vigour. These traits personify the concept of Herakles, known for strength and valour.

Devices on coins, produced by the school or medium of art in question even during the last phase of the empire, influenced the coin-types of succeeding ages. Thus, as already noted, the "king at altar" and "enthroned Ardokhsho" types were copied by the successors of the Kushāṇas (in the Punjab area), the group of Kidāra Kushāṇa, the Hūṇas, and others but without much of the artistic skill of the Kushāṇa die-cutters. These types were also copied later in Kāśmīra. "King at altar" and "Oesho with bull" devices were imitated on Kushāṇo-Sasanian coins, again without much artistic merit. "Nanā on lion" and "enthroned Ardokhsho" were however, ably adopted and fully Indianised by the Gupta mint-masters.

Devices on coins of the Bactro-Greeks and early Indo-Greeks, as noticed above, were in high relief. The relief became lower with the passage of time. Some of the mints turned out coins with the figures indicated mainly in outline. But on the whole, good intaglio dies were used up to the end of the Kushāṇa empire to produce coins with devices and legends shown in relief.

Greek letters on the Greek and early Indo-Greek coins are beautifully inscribed. But on some Scytho-Parthian coins distortion of forms may by noticed. Greek legends on them also sometimes contain errors. These were probably due to the lack of proper knowledge of the Greek language on the part of the die-cutters. The forms of the Greek letters used for inscribing Greek and Bactrian legends on Kushāṇa coins are tolerably good up to the period of Huvishka. Later on these became slovenly and cursive. On the other hand, Kharoshṭhī letters are, on the whole, well inscribed on the coins struck during the periods of the Indo-Greeks, Scytho-Parthians and early Kushāṇas. A comparative study of their forms indicate developments in their palaeographic features.

Monograms, alluding to mints or something else, appeared on the Indo-Greek and Scytho-Parthian coins of the Indian subcontinent. In the later stage of the rule of the Indo-Parthians and also in the period of Kujula Kadphises symbols often replaced monograms on coins. The *Nandipada* symbol occurs on some coins of Kujula and V'ima. V'ima's coins also often carry a four-pronged symbol (which partly devloped from the *nandipada* symbol) or one of its variants. Closely similar symbols or variants occur on coins of Kanishka I and Huvishka. We may find on Vāsudeva I's coins several changed forms of one of the symbols of Huvishka. Some forms of the four-pronged symbol occur on the coins of Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II. The *nandīpada* symbol appears on the coins of the latter ruler attributed to an area to the west of Peshawar.

The exact significance of the symbols is not clear. One of the hypotheses is that each of the symbols or variants was a sort of personal badge of the king (or of the chief of the mint concerned). Such a surmise is supported by the fact that the three-pronged symbol, known as the Soter Megas symbol, is known to haveappeared only on the coins of Soter Megas, who was most probably a Kushāṇa ruler. It should, however, be noted that two badges or different forms of one badge might have been used by one person.

The symbols on coins of later Kushāṇa monarchs and their successors in the Punjab area were copied on the coins of the Imperial Guptas. But the later perhaps did not realise their real significance.

C

In our discussion on coins of non-Indian rulers we have deliberately not laid much stress on the iconic traits of the deities appearing on them, since the importance of these and also several other series of Indian coins as sources of our knowledge of the development of Indian iconography is now well-recognised. Significant contributions have been made evaluating them from this point of view, though there is still enough scope for pursuing this line of research.

More pressing need of the hour is to study stylistic features of the coin-devices, particularly of those on well-produced pieces, against the background of our knowledge of contemporary plastic art. Our assessment of the artistic merit of coins of early non-Indian rulers of the Indian subcontinent shows that coins produced from well-engraved dies generally reflect the activities of various schools of art of their region and period. Stylistic traits of these coins sometimes even fill up the lacunae in our knowledge of the history of the art activities of the area concerned. In fact, the historicity of the Kushāṇa imperial art is to a great extent dependent on the evidence of Kushāṇa coins.

From these points of view early Indian coins have been studied by a very few scholars. Even the Gupta gold coins, artistry of which is a common knowledge, have so far failed to draw sufficient attention of numismatists-cum-art historians. Their discerning eyes should scrutinise the stylistic traits of the series of Gupta gold pieces and several other series of ancient Indian specie in order to determine their relationship with other media of art and to find out whether any of them constituted an independent medium of art in the relevant region and period.

Gliding linearism, soft and often sensuous modelling of the body, and a subtle sense of movement characterise the figures appearing on the coins of the Imperial Guptas, particularly on their gold coins. Well-proportioned human figures are shown as sitting or standing in various postures. While the royal figures exude strength, robustness and vitality, the female ones have soft graceful slender forms and refined (often sensuos) contours. Divine figures on gold pieces sometimes radiate spiritual sublimity.

All these characteristics are discernible in well-executed stone sculptures of the Gupta empire and/or age, particularly in those produced following the Sarnath or Mathurā idioms. Many of the female figures on the gold coins do reflect the classical idea of feminine beauty (S. K. Saraswati, *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, 2nd edition pp. 124f).

Figures on early Gupta gold pieces are in fairly high relief, apparently as a result of the use of well-intagliated dies. However, sometimes they lack physiognomical details, due to defect in sculpting relevant dies or striking the coins or owing to "a deliberate taste for the unfinished" (as betrayed by several figures on Kushāṇa coins).

Differences between physiognomical details of the early kings represented on gold coins suggest that they bear royal portraits. However, on silver coins we perhaps witness only conventional busts. On the other hand, Chandragupta II's bust on his copper coins are more life-like.

Typologically as well as metrologically Gupta gold pieces betray impact of coinages of the Imperial Kushāṇas and their immediate successors in the North-Western section of the Indian subcontinent. For example, we can refer to such devices as "the king sacrificing at an altar", "elephant rider", "goddess on lion", "goddess on throne", "three standing figures", etc. The inspiration for displaying royal bust on silver coins must have been received from the Kshtrapa coinage of Western India. The "altar" type on the Gupta silver and copper coins may betray the die-cutters' knowledge of the early Sasanian pieces carrying the same device.

The Gupta artists gradually Indianised or replaced foreign devices, attributes and, to some extent, dresses and ornaments. The enthroned goddess of Fortune was gradually replaced by Lakshmī or Srī seated on lotus. The Goddess on Lion began to appear (as Durgā Siṁhavāhinī) in various postures.

In choosing the coin-devices the mint-masters appear to have been often motivated by the desire to project the valour and skill of the kings and to commemorate important events. For examples, we can refer to "Chandragupta-Kumāradevī" type of Chandragupta I, "Battle-axe" type of Samudragupta and Kumāragupta I, "Tiger-slayer" type of Samudragupta, and Kumāragupta I, "Lion—slayer" type of Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I, "Elephant-rider-lion-slayer" type of Kumāragupta I, "Rhinoceros-slayer" type of Kumāragupta I, "Aśvamedha" type of Samudragupta and Kumāragupta I, etc.

The royal achievements depicted in these devices are referred to in the accompanying legends. In fact, legends on Gupta coins show inclination to allude to the supernatural strength, character and performances of the kings and to their authority over earth (and even heaven). A few of these inscriptions connect or compare them with gods and even deify the monarchs. The obverse legend on the "Couch" type coins of Chandragupta II refers to him as *deva*. The legend *Chakravikramaḥ* on the reverse of the "Chakravikrama" type specie of Chandragupta II (showing him as receiving certain objects from the Chakrapurusha) may mean that the king's valour was like that of the Chakrapurusha or that his valour was received from the latter. In the obverse and also reverse legends on the "Kārtikeya" type coins, displaying Kumāragupta I feeding a peacock on one side and Kārtikeya riding a peacock on the other, refer to the sovereign to as *Mahendrakumāra*. In the inscription on a variety of "Lion-slayer" type coins the same king is imagined as Narasiṁha (or Nṛisiṁha), an incarnate (of Vishṇu). One may wonder whether Kumāragupta I's "Apratigha" type coins, showing him in the garb of a (Buddhist) monk and referring to him as "apratigha" (invincible) (which can be an appropriate epithet for the Buddha himself), compare or identify the king with the great Master.

In their attempts to stress the divine character of the Gupta kingship the mint-masters concerned were really reflecting an idea well-known to literature (*Manusmṛiti*, VII, 8; *Mahābhārata*, *Śāntiparvan*, 59, 128-35; 68, 40f; etc.) and epigraphs. The famous *praśasti* composed by Harisheṇa describes Samudragupta as "God dwelling on earth" (*lokadhāma devaḥ*).

These considerations indicate that the Imperial Guptas, like the Imperial Kushāṇas, used coins as a medium of propaganda. The mint-masters did not remain content with displaying the portrait of the kings only. Some of the types display also the queens.

The Deities (like Nanā or Durgā on lion, Chakrapurusha, Goddess of Fortune, Kārtikeya, Gaṅgā and others), who appear on Gupta coins, are also represented in sculptures of the Gupta age. It is interesting to note that though the Guptas allowed different faiths to flourish in their empire, they were selective in choosing the deities to be represented on their coins. It is perhaps not without significance that the river Gaṅgā (and not the Yamunā or any other river) is deified on their coins. Perhaps the representation of this river, easily the most important one in the Gupta empire, indicated the Gupta territory itself, situated *inter alia* along the Ganges. Similarly the goddes of Fortune or Śrī appearing on the Gupta coins might have been looked upon also as the goddess of the fortune of the kingdom (Rājyaśrī or Rājyalakshmī). Such a hypothesis finds support in the statement of the Junagadh inscription of Skandagupta that he became the emperor as he was chosen (as husband) by Lakshmī herself after discarding all other princes *(vapetya sarvān = manujendraputrāṁ = llakshmī svayaṁ yaṁ varayāṁ-chakāra)*. This epigraphic claim is beautifully corroborated by the appearance of *Rājyalakshmi,* holding (like seated Lakshmī) a lotus and a noose (?), by the side of Skandagupsa on a variety of his coins.

Syncretism, a feature of Indian inconography, was not altogether unknown to the die-cutters employed by the Guptas. In the appearance of female deity standing on *makara* and feeding a peacock on the reverse of the "Tiger-slayer" type coins of Kumāragupta I we may discern a fusion of the concept of Gaṅgā with that of the consort of Kārtikeya, whose mount is peacock. Or does this coin-type represent Gaṅgā, the goddess of the most important and beneficial river of the empire, as nourishing the mount of Kumāra, meaning the emperor as well as the god Kārtikeya ?

Not only Peacock or *makara*, but also mounts of other deities appear on Gupta coins. Garuḍa, the mount of Vishṇu, can be seen on several varieties of Gupta specie as well as seals. Bull, the mount of Siva, is noticeable on a class of silver coins of Skandagupta. Trident on a variety of Kumāragupta I's silver pieces may also allude to Śaivism.

Of the different symbols on the Gupta coins we can refer especially to the lunar symbol or cresent. It appears sometimes on a standard which can be called *Chandradhvaja* (like *Chakradhvaja* and *Garuḍadhvaja*). One may imagine that here the representation of *Chandra* (moon) may have an allusion to Chandragupta I, the real founder of the Gupta empire, or to the royal family of which Chandragupta I was the first emperor.

The varieties of the Gupta coins decreased from the reign of Skandagupta. Gold coinage of his successors is known from their coins showing the king as an archer on one side and a seated goddess on the other. Both the devices, particularly the latter, influenced coin-types of later periods. Similarly, devices on silver coins of the Guptas (at least one variety of which was struck by Budhagupta even sometime after Skandagupta) made impact on post-Gupta coinages.

The coins of the Imperial Guptas, particularly of the earlier ones, form an independent medium of art. Several stylistic features betrayed by well-executed figures on coins correspond to those of the Gupta stone sculpture. Nevertheless, the Gupta die-cutters had their own technique for hewing out in negative the relevant figures on the die in such a way as to impart a sense of dimension to them in their positive impressions on the flat flans of the coins. Some of the deities on these coins are also interesting iconographically. The coin-types illustrating the valour, skill and achievements of the kings are accompanied by well-composed legends, mostly metrical, alluding to their identical qualifications. Here we have a novel blending of literary compositions with visual art. Epigraphic references to royal skill and achievements sometimes find corroboration from coin-types. For an example, we can refer to the "Lyrist" type of Samudragupta, which displays him as playing a lute and thereby translates into visual art the subject matter of a part of an epigraph (or a piece of epigraphic literature) (viz. Allahabad *praśasti* of Harisheṇa), referring to the musical accomplishments of the king.

Known facts thus make us aware of the artistic qualities of the Gupta coinage. Further research may bring out the minute details of the Gupta numismatic art.

Similar investigations may be conducted in the field of early mediaeval coinages. No doubt, a large number of indifferently produced coins of early mediaeval North and South India cannot be ranked as objects of art. Moreover, presence of unofficial imitations of little or no artistic exclence may cause impediments to our study. Nevertheless, many of the well executed coins of this age may be profitably examined from our points of vew.

For an example, we can refer to a beautiful gold coin of the Kalachuri ruler Gāṅgeyadeva now preserved in the British Museum, London. While one side of this piece bears a legend, the other side displays the well-proportioned figure of a four-armed seated goddess. Though this coin-type is known to have been heavily imitated in the post-Gāṅgeyadeva era, there is no apparent reason to regard the specimen in question as an imitation. It is interesting to note that the attitude and elegance of the representation of the goddess remind us of several sculptures of the Gupta age. There is nothing to be surprised at this. For here the die-engraver or die-engravers only reflected the trends of art in the Kalachuri or Haihaya territory, which initially showed awareness of Gupta classical idiom. A typical example is supplied by a panel showing Gaṅgā and others, which had been found in Central India and was for some time included in the Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck collection in the USA. The effectiveness of modelling and a sense of lithe movement betrayed by the figure of Gaṅgā are comparable with those of the representation of the same goddess unearthed at Besnagar or of a *nāginī* found at Maniyar Math (Rajgir), both datable to the Gupta age.

The figure of the boar incarnation of Vishṇu is beautifully portrayed on some of the coins referring to Śrimat Ādivarāha. The inaugurator of this series of coins has been identified with the Imperial Pratīhāra king Bhoja. Though a large number of known pieces belonging to this class of specie may be considered as imitations, at least some of the most well-produced ones should be taken as products of the mint of Bhoja. One side of these pieces bears a legend and also a stylised or corrupt version of an altar and two attendants, which betray influence of an earlier coin-device traceable ultimately to the Sasanid coinage. On the other side appears a boar with such attributes which distinguish it as the boar incarnation of Vishṇu. The Varāha, wearing *vānamāla* stands astride to right. His right hand is on the right hip and the left hand is half-raised, with the elbow turned upward and the palm resting on the half-raised left thigh or knee. Wheel, mace and a few inderterminate symbols can be noticed on some of these pieces. Except for the earth goddess on the snout or partly held by the snout, the scheme of representation of the Varāha closely corresponds to that of the same incarnation in plastic art of the Gupta age as well as of the early mediaeval period. The strength and viogur exuded by the figure of the Varāha on the coins concerned betray the die-engraves' knowledge of the dynamic representations of the same incarnation in the sculptural art of the early mediaeval age, examples of which have been found at various sites (including Phaphamau in the Allahabad district).

Some of the coins of the Kalachuris of Ratnapura (modern Ratanpur, 76 miles north of Bilaspur in M.P.) show on the obverse a lion, with its mouth open, seated on an elephant walking to right. This composition appears to represent the *Gaja-siṁha* motif, which is well-known in the art of Eastern India (including Orissa) of the mediaeval period, and which can be regarded as one of "the most powerful and dynamic realisations of the fantastic" in Indian art.

Several coins of Jayasiṁha Jagadekamalla of the Western Chālukya family display a temple. It has a superstructure reminiscent of the *chaitya* window motif shown on the *śukanāsa* of a number of contemporary temples. This motif is further surmounted by a prismatic finial. A scholar, examining the temple-device on this or any other class of Indian coins, may try to determine whether the form concerned is unknown or attested by remains of architecture and/or literature. If the type concerned is known, he may evaluate the die-engravers' success in reproducing within a minute scale the visual traits of a form of contemporary architecture.

A male figure (representing the king ?) stands, facing to front and holding varying objects, on a number of coins of Rājarāja I of the Choḷa dynasty of South India. The figure is not very gracefully executed. But it is flexible, slender and, to some extent, vigorous. In these respects it can be related to numerous Choḷa sculptures of th 10th and 11th centuries A.D., which are distinguished by an animated flexibility and slenderness as well as by a vigorous form and tough vitality.

Several gold, silver, base silver and copper coins of Rājendra Choḷa I display (on both sides) a lamp stand, a stringed bow, a seated tiger, two fishes and another lamp-stand below a parasol, flanked by two fly-whisks, and above a broad line. A legend appears beneath the broad line. The composition of the devices has a general resemblance to that of the same figures (excepting the stringed bow ?) on the seals of that Choḷa king. For an example, we can refer to the bronze seal of his Karandai plates. This evidcnce indicates familiarity on the part of the Choḷa mint-masters with the seal-engraving art of the age and/or *vice versa.* There might have been close association and, in some cases identity, between the artists engaged in two different media of art.

On a number of gold coins of the Hoysala kings Vishṇuvardhana and Narasiṁha I we can notice a goddess (Durgā) sitting to front on a maned lion standing to right. The two-armed goddess holds a discus and a conch. The representation of the deity is not deviod of artistic quality. The artist or artists concerned can be complimented for imparting to her well proportioned figure a sense of volume and lithe movement. It has been claimed that a fine image of the goddess in the Kappe Chennigaraya temple at Belur alludes to her popularity in the Hoysala territory in the time of Vishṇuvardhana. The coins of the zone and period concerned were thus not immune of the influence of the contemporary religions and iconography and perhaps also of sculptural art, the hand maid of religion.

These stray examples of artistry of coin-devices may indicate that the field of early mediaeval coinages of North or South India might not have been altogether barren from an artist's point of view. Deeper probes into various series of specie may perhaps yield really encouraging results.

Coins minted by Muslim rulers in India are generally bereft of figural devices. This is a great impediment to any attempt to study their aristry. Nevertheless, beautifully inscribed legends on a great number of such coins may be fruitfully utilised for a study of the development of the art of calligraphy in India. Exotic shape characterise a number of pieces. Among the figural devices occurring on coins of Muslim rulers in India we can especially refer to the "bull", "horseman", "seated goddess" and "lion" types (all of which, particularly the first three, were at least initially imitated from the types already known in India), and to architectural designs, foliage, royal portraits and the signs of the zodiac.

Very improved versions of the "horseman" device appear on coins struck in Gauḍa (?) during the days of Muhammad bin Sam, Alauddin Ali Mardan and Iltutmish. Here the equestrian figure is not shown in crude outline as on several coins of the "Hindu" Shāhis of Ohind, Later Ghaznavid rulers of Lahore, Muhammad bin Sam, Iltutmish, Rukn-ud-dīn Fīrūz Shāh, and others. On the Gauḍa(?) coins the whole of the body of the horse as well as of the rider is shown in fairly high relief. To the prancing horse the die-engravers were able to impart a sense of life and movement.

Pictorial devices on Mughal coins are marked, whenever they appear, with vivacity, which is also a characteristic of Mughal painting. "Bird" and "foliage", which form two important themes of Mughal painting, made their impact felt on a number of pieces of the great emperor Akbar. Arabesque and geometric designs, which embellish Mughal architecture, also adorn a number of coins of the period concerned.

Interestingly enough, two well-drawn figures, representing Rāma and Sītā, appear on some coins of Akbar, which incidentally allude to his eclectic attitude to different religious faiths. An attempt to represent the emperor himself on coins may be noticed on some pieces which show him riding a horse with a hawk.

A portrait of Akbar adorns a series of gold *muhars* struck by his son Jahāngīr. Superbly drawn bust of the latter monarch can be noticed on a number of his coins. On some pieces (portrait : legend and sun) he is shown as seated cross-legged, with his head turned to left. His left hand rests on his left leg, while his half-raised right hand holds a cup. There is a halo behind his head. The composition of the portrait has a general resemblance to that of the monarch appearing in several paintings (including the one drawn by Govardhan and now preserved in the Raza Library, Rampur).

The king of the beasts appears in different postures on a number of coins of Jahāngīr. The artists' sense of naturalism together with the facile contours defining the volume, may find parallels in the depictions of this royal animal in contemporary paintings. For an instance, we may refer to the representation of lion in a painting depicting the meeting of Jahāngīr and Shāh Abbas drawn by the noted painter Abul Hassan.

The artistry of the sign of the zodiac on the coins of Jahāngīr is well-known. In the *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* the emperor himself stated that "it occurred to my mind that instead of (the name of) the month they should substitute the figure of the constellation which belonged to that month······ This usage was my own, and never been practised until now". Thus the sovereign, who was a connoisseur and a great patron of art, himself selected the themes of the devices of one of most beautiful series of Indian specie.

The Mughal school of painting flourished under Akbar, the father, and Jahāngīr, the son. Jahāngīr's lavish patronage of talented artists and his own critical and appreciative aesthetic sense raised the standard of painting to a peak of achievement. This age produced excellent miniature paintings. It was perhaps not difficult to find among the brilliant miniaturists, as well as among the experts in glypic art, a number of master die-engravers, since all the three classes of artists had the training to work out their themes within a limited space. In any case, the Mughal emperors were in a position to employ talented artists to engrave devices on the dies of their coins. As a result, many of the Mughal coins with devices may be truely considered as objects of art. At least the gold coins of Jahāngīr bearing his portrait on on side and a lion and sun on the other should have been intended to be treated as objects of art, if there is truth in the claim (made by Khāfī-Khān in the *Muntakhab-u-l-Lubāb*) that these were minted to enable the emperor to present them to his favourites and devout servants and to enable the latter to put them *inter alia* on their turbans in order to exalt their dignity and to beautify their head-dresses. It is really interesting to learn that these "portrait" coins, like miniature paintings, were used to be presented by the emperor to dignitaries.

Auspicious signs and symbols (like svastika, trident, etc.), well-known in India from an early age, can be noticed in the marks and ornaments on the coins of the Sultans of Delhi, the Mughal emperors, etc. These may be studied along with the symbols on early Indian coins to assess their importance in the development of Indian symbolical art. Ornamented designs are known to have embellished several series of Indian coins—ancient, mediaeval and modern.

Some of the coins struck by non-Muslim states in the mediaeval period are relevant to our study. We can thus make attempts to assess the artistic merit of several interesting iconic types minted by the Vijayanagara kingdom and of certain exotic devices struck in Tripurā. A numismatist-cum-art historian may profitably study the artistry of the inscriptions, ornaments and the few known pictorial devices on coins of North-Eastern India of mediaeval and early modern periods.

Devices and designs of superior workmanship and artistically inscribed legends on coins issued by the Portugese, Dutch, Danish, French and British authorites in India and on those put into circulation by various native states during the period of British paramountcy may also be included within the scope of our research. We may even try to scan the artistic quality of coins minted by the Indian republic.

No doubt, since the introduction of the use of machine made coins vast changes have been made in the details of the technique of minting coins. But, still the prime design of the obverse or reverse of each variety of coins is done by a person or persons trained in one or several of the known media of visual art. So the human quality in coinage is still discernible.

Composition of metal and minting technique as well as artists' skill may have bearing on the quality of impression on the coins concerned. This is particularly true of coins of early and mediaeval ages and also (to some extent) of the early modern period when all of the various procedures of manufacturing coins (through punch-marking, casting or die-striking or repousse technique and mainly by manual labour) sufferred from many uncontrollable factors. Fortunately, however, these defects had little crippling effect on a fairly large number of apparently well-produced coins, which bear visually well drawn as well as clear impressions and are assignable to different regions and sub-periods of early, mediaeval and early modern ages. These coins should be closely examined to define the stylistic features of numismatic art of each of the areas and sub-periods which produced them. These traits should be compared with the characteristics of other media of art of the same age. We should also assess (a) the capacity of the artist concerned or his master to capture the spirit of the time (social, religious, political, etc.) in selecting a theme for the coin-device; (b) the artist's ability to work it out within a very limited space; and (c) his skill to impart to it a dimensional sensibility. In short, we shall have to see how far the coinage of each of these zones and sub-periods can be considered as having constituted an independent medium of ("miniaturists") art and how far it was related to other contemporary media of visual art.

D

The study of art in Indian coinage or, in fact, any numismatic study (relating particularly to early, mediaeval, or early modern age) is dependent on the access of scholars to different important collections of Indian coins in this country and abroad, and also on the availability of well-produced catalogues of coins belonging to such collections. Unfortunately custodians of various coin cabinets in India do not always provide scholars with necessary facilities. Moreover, catalogues of many of these collections are not available. Again, catalogues of Indian coins published in recent decades generally do not contain all the desirable details (including minute information on die-alignment, metal-contents, etc.). The Numismatic Society of India should move the custodians of the collections concerned to improve the unbearable situation.

The Society may also request each of the state archaeological departments to prepare, in collaboration with the local universities and museums, indices (with photographs) of coins discovered and/or preserved within its area of operation. Copies of such indices should be made available to scholars on payment of reasonable charges.

Such steps will also bring to our notice the non-Indian coins preserved in public and private collections of our country. Number of such pieces may not be great. Nevertheless, Indian numismatists should be encouraged to examine them and also to study published catalogues of non-Indian coins in different museums of other countries. This will not only widen the horizon of their vision, but may also, in course of time, expand the limits of the area of their study. The ultimate goal of Indian numismatists should be to study coins as sources of our knowledge of the history of the world and not only of India.

In this age of super-specialisation fragmentation of knowledge is an unavoidable evil. But attempts may be made by students of a particular academic discipline to acquire some information of allied fields of study. Our endeavour to grasp the details of the art in coinage will indeed allow us to stray in the field of fine arts. Let us strive to do this multi-disciplinary research in order to broaden the vision of our knowledge.

दशार्ण क्षेत्र की लिपियुक्त आहतमुद्राएँ

अलका तिवारी

(Pl, I. 1-10)

दशार्ण, आकर अथवा पूर्वी मालवाके नामसे अभिहित क्षेत्रकी चर्चा भारतीय वाङ्मयमें प्राप्त होती है। कथासरित्सागर, जातक कथाओं तथा जैन-बौद्ध और ब्राह्मण ग्रंथोंमें इस क्षेत्रसे संबंधित स्थानों, घटनाओं और व्यक्तियोंका उल्लेख है। सांस्कृतिक और आर्थिक दृष्टिसे यह क्षेत्र बहुत सम्पन्न रहा है। हजारों वर्ग किलोमीटरमें फैला यह क्षेत्र मौर्यों, नगर-राज्यों, शुङ्गों, कण्वों, सातवाहनों, शकों, गुप्तों और अन्य राज्यवंशों द्वारा शासित रहा। सांचीका विश्व विश्रुत बौद्ध स्मारक और विश्वमें गुहाचित्रों का सबसे बड़ा समूह, भीम बैठका भी इसी क्षेत्रमें है।

यह दशार्ण क्षेत्र, वेत्रवती, नर्मदा और उसकी सहायक नदियोंसे सिंचित है। पुराणोंमें इस क्षेत्र और क्षेत्रके राजाओंकी चर्चा है। इसके बाद भी इस क्षेत्रका इतिहास अल्पज्ञात है। इस क्षेत्रसे प्राप्त दुर्लभ कोटिके कतिपय लिपियुक्त आहतमुद्राओंने इस क्षेत्रके इतिहास पर नया और स्वागत योग्य प्रकाश डाला है। आहतमुद्राओंके नामसे अभिहित इन मुद्राप्रकारों का विधिवत अध्ययन मुद्राशास्त्रियोंने किया है। तब से अब तक इन मुद्राओं का बहुत कुछ विश्लेशण कनिंघम, एच० सी० वेल्स, दुर्गाप्रसाद, पी० एल० गुप्ता, ए० एन० लहरी तथा अन्य विद्वानों द्वारा किया जा चुका है।

प्रस्तुत लेख में जिन लिपियुक्त आहतमुद्राओं का विवरण दिया जा रहा है वे बहुचर्चित रौप्य आहतमुद्राओं से भिन्न हैं क्योंकि ये ताम्र या कांस्य से निर्मित है। इनकी प्राप्ति भी संख्या की दृष्टि से रजत आहतमुद्राओं की तुलना में नगण्य है। जहाँ रजत आहतमुद्राएँ चिह्नों और आकृतियों से युक्त हैं वहाँ इन पर चिह्नों और आकृतियों के अतिरिक्त लिपि भी अंकित है। इस प्रकार के सिक्कों की ओर, जो विदिशा-एरण क्षेत्र में प्राप्त हुए हैं, हमारा ध्यान सुप्रसिद्ध मुद्राशास्त्री पी० एल० गुप्त ने आकृष्ट किया।

इसके पूर्व कनिंघम 'एरिकन'[1] अंकित इसी प्रकार के सिक्कों की चर्चा कर चुके हैं। गुप्त जी ने इन्हें आहत मुद्राओं का सर्वाधिक महत्वपूर्ण प्रकार बताते हुए इनके विशेष अध्ययन पर बल दिया है। संतलाल कटारे[2] ने इस शैली में निर्मित 'भगिलाय' और 'सातस' मुद्राएँ प्रकाशित कीं। बाजपेयी जी ने भी इनका विवेचन प्रस्तुत किया। मुद्रा परिषद के बेंगलोर अधिवेशन में भी मैंने इन मुद्राओं का उल्लेख किया था। हाल ही में बम्बई मुद्रा परिषद के न्यूमिस्मेटिक डाइजेस्ट में प्रकाशित मेरे लेख में इन मुद्राओं की चर्चा है। अब तक इस क्षेत्र से प्राप्त जिन मुद्राओं एवं लिपियुक्त आहतमुद्राओं की चर्चा मैं प्रस्तुत कर चुकी हूँ उनमें भगिल मुद्राओं का एक सर्वथा नया प्रकार, नये नरेश दामभद्र के सिक्कों के कई उपप्रकार तथा वज्रमित्र, भूमिदत्त और नारायण मित्र के सिक्के अति महत्वपूर्ण हैं। प्रस्तुत शोधपत्र में पूर्व चर्चित लिपियुक्त सिक्कों के अन्य प्रकारों के साथ साथ कतिपय अन्य नरेशों के सिक्कों की भी चर्चा है जो या तो पूर्णतः अज्ञात हैं या अल्पज्ञात है या जिनका उल्लेख मात्र सुन-सुना कर विद्वानों ने कर

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[1] *ASR*, X, pp. 76-81; pp. 148-149.

[2] *JNSI*, Vol. XII.

दिया है। ये सभी सिक्के मेरे पिता के० बी० तिवारी, शासकीय नर्मदा महाविद्यालय, होशंगाबाद के संग्रह में हैं और अपने अध्ययन अनुशीलन द्वारा इनमें से कई को मैंने पहचाना है। नीचे इन सिक्कों का विवरण प्रस्तुत है।

(१) **दामभद्र** :—दामभद्र नामक नरेश के सिक्के का उल्लेख सबसे पहले वी० वी० मिराशी ने भारतीय मुद्रा परिषद की पत्रिका[1] में किया था। दुर्भाग्य से उनके द्वारा प्राप्त मुद्रा कहीं खो गई, अतः उसका अध्ययन विश्लेषण नहीं हो सका।

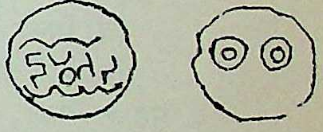
इसके बाद मैंने इस नरेश के कई मुद्रा प्रकारों का अध्ययन प्रस्तुत किया है।[2] इस नरेश का नाम भागभद्र नामक शुङ्ग नरेश से पर्याप्त समता रखता है।[3] इसके सिक्के पूर्वी मालवा में विपुल संख्या में प्राप्त हुए हैं। मेरे पिता जी के संग्रह में ही उनकी संख्या २० से अधिक है। मिराशी जी वाला सिक्का विदर्भ में मिला था। सिक्कों की विपुलता एवं उनके प्रसार क्षेत्र को देखते हुए यह अनुमान स्वाभाविक प्रतीत होता है कि दामभद्र भी भागभद्र की ही भाँति शुङ्ग नरेश था। संभव है कि पुराणों में जिसे 'भद्रक' या 'ओद्रक' कहा है वह नरेश दामभद्र ही रहा हो। इसके सिक्के पूर्ण, अर्ध और और चौथाई रूप में मिलते हैं। अभी तक इसके चौकोर प्रकार के सिक्के ही प्रकाशित हुए हैं। मुझे अपने संग्रह में इस नरेश के दो गोल सिक्के भी प्राप्त हुए हैं। ये चौकोर सिक्कों की तुलना में बहुत कम संख्या में प्राप्त होते हैं। यहाँ यह भी द्रष्टव्य है कि सातवाहनों के गोल सिक्के अधिक और चौकोर कम मात्रा में मिलते हैं वहीं दामभद्र के चौकोर सिक्के अधिक एवं गोल अल्प मात्रा में मिलते हैं। सुप्रसिद्ध मुद्राशास्त्री अजय मित्र जी शास्त्री ने 'सत्यभद्र' की जो मुद्राएँ कायन रिव्यू में प्रकाशित की हैं उनमें और दामभद्र की मुद्राओं में उल्लेखनीय साम्य है।

सिक्कों का विवरण—नवीन प्रकार के गोल सिक्के।

मुद्रा क्र० (१) धातुः ताम्र, आकृतिः गोल, भारः १·९२४२ ग्राम **(Pl. I. 1)**

अग्र :—गहरे छापे में लिपि 'दामभ' स्पष्ट है।

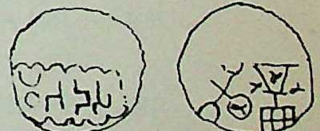
पृष्ठ :—उज्जैन चिह्न।



मुद्रा क्र० (२) धातुः ताम्र, आकृतिः गोल, भारः २·०९० ग्राम **(Pl. I. 2)**

अग्र :—गहरे लहरदार छापे में बहुत स्पष्ट 'मभदस' अक्षर। 'दा' सिक्के पर नहीं आ पाया है।

पृष्ठ :—उज्जैनी चिह्न जिसके वृत्तों में ब्राह्मी 'म' अंकित है। रैलिंग में इन्द्रध्वज ब्राह्मी 'म' से युक्त।



(२) **रविभूति** :—इस नाम के किसी नरेश के विषय में अभी तक हमें कुछ भी ज्ञात नहीं था। इस नरेश के सिक्के भी मुझे मेरे पिता जी के संग्रह में प्राप्त हुए। ये सिक्के ताम्र अथवा मिश्रित ताम्र के हैं और ये चौकोर या आयताकार हैं। एक सिक्के को छोड़ कर प्रायः सभी सिक्के एक दूसरे नरेश, हस्तिदेव, के द्वारा पुनर्मुद्रित किये गये हैं। इस दृष्टि से ये सिक्के बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण हैं और ई० पू०

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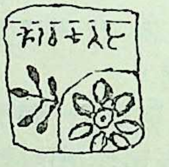
1. *JNSI*, Vol. XL, 1978 p. 104-105.
2. *Numismatic Digest*, Vol. IV Part I.
3. लेखिका ने यह दिखलाने का प्रयास नहीं किया कि दामभद्र किस प्रकार भागभद्र बन गया। पुराणों के पाठ भेदों का विवेचन यहाँ कदाचित सहायक हो सकता था। [ल० गो०]

पहली शती में हुए परिवर्त्तनों को समझने में हमारी सहायता करते हैं। इनके अध्ययन से यह सिद्ध होता है कि रविभूति किसी राजवंश का अन्तिम नरेश था जिसे हस्तिदेव नामक राजा ने पदच्युत कर अपनी सत्ता स्थापित की। अपनी मुद्राओं का अलग अलग नियमित रूप प्रचलित करने के पूर्व विजेता हस्तिदेव ने रविभूति के समस्त उपलब्ध सिक्कों को पुनर्मुद्रित किया। पुनर्मुद्रित करने की प्रक्रिया में बहुत से सिक्के क्षतिग्रस्त हो गये और उनको लिपि भी अस्पष्ट हो गई। एक राजवंश की समाप्ति और एक नये राजवंश के उदय की सूचना देने वाले इन सिक्कों का अध्ययन भारतीय इतिहास के अध्ययन में बड़ा महत्वपूर्ण सिद्ध होगा। मैं पूर्ण निश्चय के साथ तो नहीं कह सकती किन्तु मेरा यह सुनिश्चित अनुमान है कि इन सिक्कों का प्रणेता 'रविभूति' संभवतः अंतिम शुङ्ग सम्राट था। जिसे पुराणों में देवभूति[1] के नाम से संबोधित किया गया है। वैसे सिक्कों पर अंकित 'र' को देखकर 'दे' का भ्रम होता है।[2] इस रविभूत को पराजित करने वाले नरेश का नाम हस्तिदेव है। इसने विदिशा-एरण कोटि के आहत सिक्कों को कुछ परिवर्तन के साथ अपनी मुद्रा के रूप में अपनाया। इसने अन्य प्रकार की मुद्रायें भी प्रसारित कीं किन्तु सर्वाधिक संख्या में विदिशा-एरण के संशोधित रूप को ही प्रधानता दी। संभवतः शुङ्गों से अपनी पृथकता स्थापित करने के लिये ही इसने ऐसा किया होगा। मेरे पिताजी के संग्रह में रविभूति की जितनी भी मुद्रायें हैं एक को छोड़कर सभी पुनर्मुद्रित हैं। संभव है शुङ्गवंश का उन्मूलन करने वाले जिस राजा को पुराणों में वसुदेव कहा है वही हस्तिदेव है। सातवाहन वंश परम्परा आदि का पुराणों में जो उल्लेख है उसमें भी इस प्रकार की त्रुटियाँ हैं और उनका संशोधन किया गया है।

सिक्कों का विवरण :



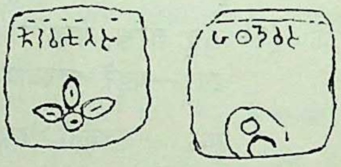
मुद्रा क्रमांक (१) धातु: ताम्र; आकार: चौकोर। **(Pl. I. 3)**

अग्र :—गहरे छापे में ब्राह्मी लेख **'राजो रविभूतिस'**।

(अ) सिक्के में दाहिने कोने पर गोल गहरे छापे में आठ पत्तियों वाला बहुत सुन्दर कमल।

(ब) बायें ओर वृक्ष जिसकी रेलिंग कमल वाले पंच के नीचे दब गई है।

पृष्ठ :—रिक्त



मुद्रा क्रमांक (२) :—यह हस्तिदेव द्वारा पुनर्मुद्रित है **(Pl. I. 4)**

धातु: ताम्र; आकृति: चौकोर।

अग्र :—(अ) सबसे उपर लिपि **'राजो रविभूतिस'**।

(ब) मुद्रा क्रमांक १ की तरह आठ पत्तियों वाला कमल।

पृष्ठ :—इस ओर को पुनर्मुद्रित किया गया है।

(अ) लिपि की ओर से सिक्का थोड़ा कट गया है अतः उपाधि **'राजो'** नहीं है। शेष **'हथ देवस'** नाम पूरा स्पष्ट अंकित है।

(ब) ब्राह्मी "म" आधे गोल घेरे में अंकित है।

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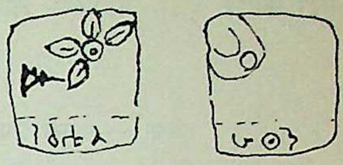
[1] वायु पुराण, अनुषङ्ग पाद, समाप्ति; २०३।

[2] स्पष्ट है कि लेखिका स्वयं राजा का नाम देवभूति स्वीकार नहीं करती। यदि यहाँ यह सुझाव दिया गया है कि पुराण के रचयिता ने सिक्कों पर के नाम को भ्रमवश देवभूति पढ़ा है तो ऐसी कल्पना पर अधिक विचार नहीं किया जा सकता। अधिक उपयुक्त होता कि पुराणों में ही पाठ भेदों में नाम खोजे जाए और फिर पुराणों की प्रतिलिपि बनाने वालों के द्वारा रविभूति के देवभूति बनाये जाने की संभावना की जा सकती है। [illegible]

मुद्रा क्रमांक (३) आकारः आयताकार।



अग्र :—लेख **'राजो'** अस्पष्ट है **'रविभूति'** स्पष्ट है। आठ पत्तियों वाला कमल मुद्रा क्रमांक १ की ही तरह अंकित है। इन्द्रध्वज जिसकी रेलिंग लिपि के नीचे दब गई है।

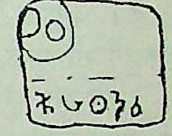
पृष्ठ :—ब्राह्मी "म" आधे गोले से घिरा। लिपि काफी अस्पष्ट है। "ह" अस्पष्ट है तथा "थद" स्पष्ट रूप से पढ़ा जा सकता है।

(३) हस्तिदेव :—यह अनुमान है कि सिक्कों का हस्तिदेव ही पुराणों का वसुदेव है[1]। इस नाम के नरेश के विषय में हमें अभी तक कुछ ज्ञात नहीं था। केवल इलहाबाद संग्रहालय में राजा हस्तिपाल की एक मुद्रा होने का उल्लेख है किन्तु हस्तिदेव नाम के नरेश का कोई भी उल्लेख शिलालेखों आदि से नहीं मिलता है। किसी वंश का प्रारंभिक नरेश होने के कारण हस्तिदेव ने बड़े उत्साह से अपनी मुद्राएँ जारी कीं। उसने पूर्व नरेश 'रवि भूति' की मुद्राएँ पुनर्मुद्रित की और बाद में कई अन्य प्रकार की मुद्राएँ प्रचलित कीं। उसके वंश के अन्य नरेशों ने मात्र एक या दो प्रकार की मुद्राओं को अपनाया। हस्तिदेव की मुद्राओं को देखने से पता लगता है कि वह बड़ी दृढ़ता से अपनी राजसत्ता और प्रभाव स्थापित करना चाहता था।

मुद्रा प्रकार निम्नलिखित हैं :—

मुद्रा क्रमांक १ एवं २ पुनर्मुद्रित हैं इनका विवरण रविभूति के सिक्कों के अन्तर्गत किया गया है।

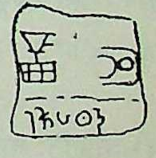
मुद्रा क्रमांक (३) धातुः ताम्र; आकारः वर्गाकार; वजनः ३·२८० ग्राम।



अग्र :—ब्राह्मी "म" आधे गोले से घिरा हुआ। लेख **[रा] 'जो हथदेव'**। बाकी लिपि नष्ट हो गई है।

पृष्ठ :—रिक्त

मुद्रा क्रमांक (४) वर्गाकार, वजनः २.५ ग्राम।



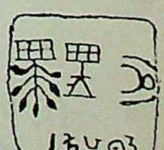
अग्र :—(अ) लेख **'राजोहथदे'**।

(ब) बाँई और रैलिंग में इन्द्र ध्वज।

(स) दाँई ओर आधे गोले से घिरा ब्राही अक्षर "म"

पृष्ठ :—रिक्त।

मुद्रा क्रमांक (५) :—धातुः ताम्र; आकारः वर्गाकार; भारः ५ ग्राम। **(Pl. I. 5)**



अग्र :—लेख **राजोहथदे [व स]**

बाँई ओर ब्राह्मी "म" आधे गोले से घिरा हुआ।

बीच में रेलिंग में इन्द्रध्वज दाहिनी और रेलिंग में वृक्ष	ये तीनों चिन्ह एक पंक्ति में हैं।

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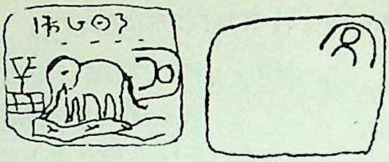
1. लेखिका ने यह नहीं दिखलाया है कि हस्तिदेव किस प्रकार पुराणमें बसुदेव बन गया। यदि यह कहा जाय कि उसी व्यक्ति के दो नाम थे तो यह प्रश्न का हल न होगा निराधार कल्पना मात्र होगा [ल० गो०]

मुद्रा क्रमांक ६ :—आकार: आयताकार; भार: ३.९५० ग्राम (Pl. I. 6.)

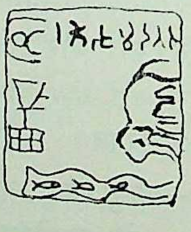


अग्र :—सबसे उपर लेख **'राञोहथदे'** लिपि के नीचे तीन चिन्ह एवं पंक्ति अंकित है। बांयी ओर रेलिंग में इन्द्रध्वज। बीच में हाथी की बहुत सुन्दर आकृति। दाहिनी ओर आधे गोले से घिरा हुआ ब्राह्मी "म"। सबसे नीचे की ओर मछलियों सहित नदी।

पृष्ठ :—ब्राह्मी "म" आधे गोले से घिरा हुआ।

(४) **भूमिदत्त** :—इस नरेश के सिक्के भी हस्तिदेव के सिक्कों की कोटि में आते हैं। मेरा विचार है कि यह भूमिदत्त पुराणों में वर्णित भूमिमित्र[1] नामक कण्व नरेश है।[2] इसने दो प्रकार के सिक्के चलाये। हस्तिदेव द्वारा जारी विदिशा-एरण प्रकार को उसने जारी रखा। इसके सिक्के बड़े व्यवस्थित एवं सुन्दर है जिससे सिद्ध होता है कि उसके समय तक उस वंश की सत्ता दृढ़ता से स्थापित हो चुकी थी। उसके सिक्कों पर हाथी की बड़ी मनोरम आकृति है और यह सांची के तोरण द्वारों पर अंकित हाथियों से साम्य रखती है। इसी प्रकार सांची के तोरणों पर अंकित वृक्षों में भी आश्चर्यजनक एकरूपता मिलती है अभी तक हम मानते थे कि सांची, भारहुत आदि बौद्ध स्मारकों के निर्माण एवं विस्तार में शुङ्ग सातवाहनों अथवा केवल शुङ्गों का योगदान रहा पर उन नरेशों के सिक्कों के अध्ययन से लगता है कि सांची के तोरण द्वारों की कलात्मक संरचना में निश्चित रूप से इन संभावित कण्व नरेशों का महत्वपूर्ण और उल्लेखनीय योगदान रहा होगा। इन नरेशों के सिक्कों पर प्राप्त होने वाले चिन्ह ब्राह्मण धर्म से संबधित है। दामभद्र, वज्रमित्र, भगिलाय सिक्कों पर अंकित चिह्न भी ब्राह्मण धर्म से संबंधित है। ब्राह्मण होते हुए भी शुङ्ग और कण्व नरेशों ने बौद्धों के धार्मिक स्मारकों का संरक्षण, पोषण एवं संवर्धन किया। इससे इन नरेशों की धार्मिक सहिष्णुता और सद्भावना का परिचय मिलता है। इन सिक्कों के सूक्ष्म अध्ययन और विश्लेषण से बहुत सी नई जानकारियां मिलने की संभावना है, तब नर्मदा के उत्तर की आर स्थित ई०पू० दूसरी-पहली शताब्दी के भारत के इतिहास पर महत्वपूर्ण प्रकाश पड़ेगा।

मुद्रा क्रमांक (१) आकृति: वर्गाकार; भार: ७·९४० ग्राम (Pl. I. 7)



अग्र :—(१) सबसे ऊपर बायी और आधे गोले में ब्राह्मी "म"। उसके ठीक सामने दायीं ओर लेख "राञो भूमिदतस"। उसके नीचे बांयी ओर रेलिंग में इन्द्रध्वज। बीच में घेरे में वृक्ष। दायी ओर हाथी की सुन्दर आकृति। सबसे नीचे मछलियों सहित नदी।

पृष्ठ :—रिक्त

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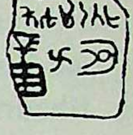
1. वायु पुराण, अनुषङ्ग पाद समाप्ति, २०४
2. पुराणों के प्रतिलिपि करने वालों के द्वारा ऐसी भूल की संभावना होने पर भी उसे अन्य किसी प्रमाण के अभाव में मान्य नहीं कहा जा सकता [सं० नो०]

मुद्रा क्रमांक (२) आकार; वर्गाकार; भार: ५·५९० ग्राम **(Pl. I. 8)**

अग्र :—मुद्रा क्रमांक १ की तरह से किन्तु पंच उल्टा पकड़े जाने से दांयी ओर चिह्न बांयी ओर तथा बांयी ओर के चिह्न दांयी ओर अंकित हो गये हैं।

पृष्ठ :—रिक्त

मुद्रा क्रमांक (३) :—आकार: आयताकार; भार: १·९४० ग्राम। **(Pl. I. 9)**

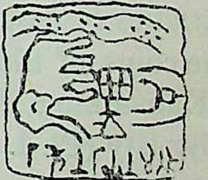


अग्र :—सबसे ऊपर स्पष्ट लेख "**राञो भूमिदतस**।" नीचे बांयीं ओर रेलिंग में इन्द्रध्वज। बीच में छोटा सा स्वस्तिक चिन्ह। दांयी ओर अर्ध गोले में घिरा हुआ ब्राह्मी "म"।

पृष्ठ :—रिक्त

(५) नारायणमित्र :—यह पुराणों में नारायण के नाम से संबोधित किया गया है। यह भूमिदत्त का पुत्र रहा होगा। इसके सिक्के भूमिदत्त से कम संख्या में मिले हैं जिससे लगता है कि उस समय तक इस वंश के नरेशों की मुद्रायें पर्याप्त संख्या में प्रचलन में आ गई थी। अतः नारायण मित्र को अपनी मुद्रायें उपयोग के लिये नहीं वरना अपनी राजसत्ता की अभिव्यक्तिके लिये ही प्रचलित करनी पड़ी जिसके कारण उसने अपनी मुद्रायें कम संख्या में प्रचलित की।

मुद्रा क्रमांक (१) आकार: चौकोर, वजन : ६·०२३ ग्राम **(Pl. I. 10)**



अग्र :—सबसे ऊपर ब्राह्मी लेख। **राञोनारायण मित [स]** नीचे तीन चिन्ह एक पंक्ति में। बांयी ओर ब्राही "म" आधे गोले में। बीच में इन्द्रध्वज घेरे में। दायी ओर हाथी की सुन्दर आकृति। सबसे नीचे जिग जैग लाइन से फूलनुमा सजावट है।

पृष्ठ :—रिक्त

हमें विश्वास है कि इन सिक्कों का विधिवत अध्ययन एवं सूक्ष्म विश्लेषण भारत और विशेष रूप से उत्तर भारत के इतिहास का एक सर्वथा नया अध्याय हमारे सामने प्रस्तुत करेगा।

SUMMARY

Daśārṇa area has yielded several punch-marked coins with legend on them. Daśārṇa area was also known as Ākara and Eastern Malwa and at present is a part of western Madhya Pradesh. The legends on these coins reveal several names of the kings who can be identified with some known kings mentioned in the Purāṇas. These coins are in the collection of my father K. B. Tiwari of the Government Narmada College, Hoshangabad,

M. P. I have identified and studied these coins the results of which are being given below.

The coins of Dāmabhadra are round in shape **(Pl. I. 1-2)** and have king's name in Brāhmī on obverse and Ujjaini symbol on the reverse. There are 20 coins of this king in the collection of my father. V. V. Mirashi also reported such a coin from Vidarbha. It is possible that Dāmabhadra was a Suṅga king like Bhāgabhadra. I am inclined to identify this king with the Śuṅga king Bhadraka or Odraka mentioned in the Purāṇas. Most of the coins of this king are square in shape. Only two round coins have been noticed so far which are reproduced here.

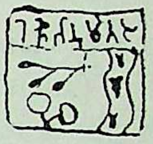
Nothing was known so far about the king Ravibhūti. These square coins are of copper or mixed copper. All the coins in our collection, except one, have been restruck by a king named Hastideva **(Pl. I. 3-4)**. In my opinion this Ravibhūti was also a Suṅga king identifiable with Devabhuti of the Purāṇas. He was the last Śuṅga king who was killed by Vāsudeva. This Vāsudeva could be identified with Hastideva who restruck the coins of Ravibhūti. Hastideva or Vāsudeva struck several varieties of coins which are illustrated on **Pl. 1.5-6**. Next we have treated the coins of Bhūmidatta **(Pl. 1.7-9)** who can be identified with the Purāṇic Kaṇva king Bhūmimitra. The coins of Nārāyaṇamitra also belong to this dynasty **(Pl. I. 10)**. He was the son of Bhūmidatta and can be identified with Nārayaṇa of the Purāṇas.

नए राजा भानुमित्र के सिक्के[1]

के० बी० तिवारी

(Pl. I. 11)

नांदनेर से प्राप्त सिक्कों से ही हमें इस क्षेत्र के एक नवीन शासक "भानुमित्र" के विषय से पता चलता है। इसके सिक्के दामभद्र, नारायणमित्र, वज्रमित्र, हस्तिदेव और भगिल सिक्कों से आकृति में छोटे हैं तथा 'कुरर' सिक्कों से कुछ बड़े हैं।



मुद्रा क्रमांक (१) ताम्र, आयताकार

अग्र :—सबसे उपर ब्राह्मी लेख "**राञो भानुमितस्**"। लिपि के नीचे उर्ध्वाधर रूप में दो जिग-जैग पंक्तियों से नदी अंकित जिसमें मछलियों की आकृति है। बांयी ओर बृक्ष जिसकी रैलिंग नदी के पंच के नीचे दब गई है। अतः सिक्के पर स्पष्ट नहीं है। बृक्ष के नीचे उज्जैन चिन्ह।

पृष्ठ :—उज्जैन चिन्ह (अस्पष्ट) (**Pl. I. 11**)

मुद्रा क्रमांक (२)

अग्र—मुद्रा क्रमांक १ की तरह।

पृष्ठ :—उज्जैन चिह्न स्पष्ट।

SUMMARY

In my collection I have some inscribed punch-marked coins with the legend *Raño Bhānumitasa* on the obverse **(Pl. I. 11)** with other symbols. On the reverse there is Ujjaina symbol. Bhānumitra is a new king of this area. His coins are a bit smaller than the coins of Dāmabhadra, Vajramitra, Hastideva and Bhagila and a little bigger than Kurara coins.

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[1] कुमारी अलका तिवारी और प्रो० के० बी० तिवारी इन नये सिक्कों को प्रकाश में लाने के लिये बधाई के पात्र हैं। इनकी प्राप्ति के स्थान और सिक्कों के प्रकार के आधार पर इनका दशार्ण प्रदेश से सम्बन्ध युक्ति संगत प्रतीत होता है। ये सिक्के परस्पर सम्बन्धित हैं किन्तु इनके राजाओं की पुराणों में उल्लिखित राजाओं से पहचान निर्विवाद नहीं है। [ल० गो०]

A CHANDRAGUPTA—KUMĀRADEVĪ COIN FROM CHANDRAKETUGARH

GOURISANKAR DE

(Pl. II. 1)

A rare gold coin, depicting on its obverse the marriage of Chandragupta I and Kumāradevī, was discovered for the first time in Bengal[1] from Chandraketugarh, a well known archaeological site in West Bengal.

Contrary to the claim that it was recovered by the Asuthosh Museum, University of Calcutta, while carrying on exploration on a mound at Berachampa,[2] the above mentioned coin was picked up by a ten year old Muslim girl from the heaps of earth piled up from the bed of a pond at Hadipur, adjacent to the rampart of Chandraketugarh. This was in the month of May, 1956.[3] The lucky girl was the grand-daughter of a Haji Saheb of the village of Hadipur who sold it to Srī Satyen Roy, a local collector of antiquities, for Rs. 110/- only. The Asutosh Museum, University of Calcutta, purchased the coin from Śrī Roy and it is now in the collection of the Museum. No detailed or systematic study of this coin has been made so far.

The details of the coin under discussion are as follows :

Obverse : King standing to l. wearing close fitting coat, trousers and head-dress, ear-rings and armlets, holding in l. hand a crescent-topped standard bound with fillet, and with r. hand offering an object, on the present coin clearly a ring, to the queen who stands on l. to r. wearing loose robe, ear-rings, necklace and armlets, and, tightfitting head-dress; both nimbate. On r. on either side of the standard the legend *Chandragupta* and on l. *Kumāradevī*.

Reverse : Seated goddess of the Ardoxo type but on a lion. Goddess, nimbate, wearing long loose robe, seated, facing, on lion couchant to r. holding fillet in outstretched r. hand and cornucopiae in arm; her feet rest on lotus; border of dots. Symbol on l. The reverse legend is *Lichchhavayaḥ*. The coin weighs 109 grains. (**Pl. II. 1**)

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[1] D. P. Ghosh, p. 46. *Studies In Museum and Museology*, p. 46.

[2] *IA*, 1955-56, p. 62.

[3] *Bhāratvarsha*, Āświn, B. S. 1363.

The Lichchhahvīs, having an unbroken tradition of over a thousand years, enjoyed great power and prestige.[1] Hence their alliance was eagerly sought for by the first Gupta monarch. The type of coin, under discussion, undoubtedly commemorates the marriage of Chandragupta I and Kumāradevī of the Lichchhavī clan.[2] The alliance was so prized that even Samudragupta took pride in announcing himself as *Lichchhavī dauhitra* 'the son of a daughter of the Lichchhavīs'.[3]

The point of dispute is with regard to the king who issued this type of coin. Vincent Smith, who first studied the Gupta coins systematically, ascribed it to Chandragupta I.[4] Allan refuted it on numismatic grounds and attributed the coins to Samudragupta.[5] But Altekar challenged the view of Allan and tried to re-establish the old proposition of Smith.[6] There are weighty reasons in favour of both the theories and it is indeed difficult to come to a definite conclusion. Most probably, the coin was minted by Chandragupta I himself, especially as their gold content is appreciably higher than that of any coin of Samudragupta.[7] According to Allan[8] and R. D. Banerjee,[9] the figure on the reverse is that of Lakshmī. But the deity represented is probably Durgā or Ambikā, as her vehicle depicted is the lion.[10]

Whoever may be the issuer, the Chandragupta—Kumāradevī type of gold coin is quite important both in the context of the history of the Gupta dynasty and the history of India in general. The Lichchhavī princess Kumāradevī must have brought to her husband's family an enormous accession of power and prestige,[1] though too much stress should not be laid on the pride of the Guptas in their Lichchhavī blood.[2] The Lichchhavīs are not mentioned in the Purāṇas. From Manu, X. 22, it is evident that the kshatriyas of Magadha and Nepal were regarded as unorthodox.[3] But the coin sheds considerable light on the position of woman of upper classes in the Gupta period. The queen-consort clearly occupied an important position in this period and Kumāradevī was probably a queen in her own right.[4] It is interesting to note that Chandragupta I, instead of mentioning his own lineage, mentions that of his queen, thus giving more importance to the latter.[5] No Indian ruler, other than the Guptas, is known to have the effigies of his queens engraved on the coins.[6] On the present coin, Chandragupta I lovingly gazes at his chief queen[7] suggesting a very happy married life in the coin.[8]

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[1] K. M. Panikkar, *A Survey of Indian History*, p. 46.

[2] John Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Saśānka, King*

[3] *of Gauḍa*, p. XVIII.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, p. 95.

[6] Allan. *Op. cit.*, p. LXV.; and *Bayana Hoard*, pp. xii-iii.

[7] S. K. Maity, *Economic Life of India in the Gupta Period*, p. 178.

[8] Allan, *Op. cit*, p. xviii.

[9] R. D. Banerjee, *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 518.

[10] S. K. Maity, *Gupta Civilization : A study*, p. 79.

The discovery of several Gupta gold coins—two Archer type coins of Chandragupta II and one Chandragupta—Kumārdevī coin—confirms the antiquity and commercial importance of the port-city of Chandraketugarh, particularly in the days of the imperial Guptas.

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1. Majumdar, Datta and Raychowdhury, *An Advanced History of India*, pp. 144-145.
2. Allan, *Op. cit.* p. xix.
3. *Ibid*, p. xviiii.
4. Lallanji Gopal, *Samudragupta*, p. 12.
5. *Ibid*, p. 11.
6. *Ibid.*
7. A. L. Basham, *The Wonder That Was India*, p. 380.
8. S. K. Maity, *Gupta Civilization : A study*, p. 74.

AN UNIQUE REPOUSSE GOLD COIN OF PRASANNAMATRA

L. S. NIGAM

(Pl. II. 2-3)

In the month of November, 1980 I had an opportunity to visit Khariār, formerly head quarter of a small princely state now situated in Kālāhandī district of Orissa, where my friend Mr. J. P. Singhdeo, former prince of the said state, showed me two coins of Prasannamātra discovered by him a few days ago from village Māḍāguda[1], an important ancient site, full of archaeological remains, situated in Nawāpārā subdivision of Kālāhandī district of Orissa. I am thankful to him for permitting me to publish these coins. A hoard of six repousse gold coins was also discovered from this village in the month of September 1980, and is now deposited in sub-treasury of Nawāpārā in the Kālāhandī district where the author has examined the coins and found that five of them belong to Mahendrāditya and one to Kramāditya.[2]

The number of repousse gold coins, already known, is quite large. Most of them belong to Prasannamātra. Among these two coins discussed here, one belongs to variety 'A' as described by B. C. Jain[3], but the other coin is unique and important for various reasons :—

(1) The device of Garuḍa, found on the repousse gold coins of Prasannamātra, is not engraved here. The *Chakra* is erected in the centre of the upper half of the coin in profile.

(2) The name of the ruler is inscribed as *Śrīprasana* for the first time in the coin. On earlier known coins the legend is *Śrīprasannamātra*.

(3) The size of the coin is smaller and its weight is also less than that of other known coins.

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[1] For details, please refer to :
   (i) Deo, P. K : 'Fogotten Forts in Kalahandi District—Jumalagarh Madaguda complex'. *OHRJ*, Vol. XVI, No. 3. pp. 1-7.
   (ii) Singhdeo, J. P. : 'Archaecological Remains of Sonabeda Plateau, *OHRJ*, Vol. XVI. No. 4 to Vol. XXII, No. 1, pp. 121 ff.
   (iii) Panda, S. C. : Antiquities of Madaguda valley preserved in University; *New Aspects of History of Orissa*, (Sambalpur University) pp. 48-52.
   (iv) Tiwari, S. P. : Identification of Sarabhapuriya Capital, *Proc. Orissa Hist. Cong*. 1978. pp. 16-22.

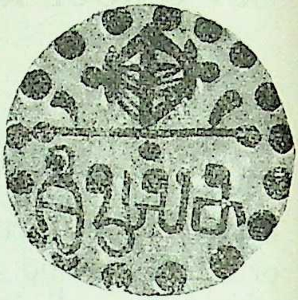
[2] Probably Coins under reference are also found with this hoard. Mr. J. P. Singhdeo also agrees with this veiw.

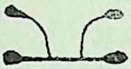
[3] *JNSI*, XVI, p. 217.

Both the coins are in excellent state of preservation. They are struck repousse having blank reverse. The description of the coins is as under.

1. **Small Coin**

Metal : Gold, Shape : round, diameter : 12.3mm., Weight : 0.561 gm.



Obverse : Inside a circle of dots along the edge the coins is divided into two parts by a horizontal line. This line has auxileries with round dotted ends towards the upper direction rising from the both sides like  . In the centre of the upper half, a beautiful and decorated *Chakra* is engraved. This *Chakra* is quite similar to the wheel of a chariot. In the lower half, below the horizontal line, the legend *Śrīprasana* in box-headed characters of Brāhmī script is inscribed. Just above the letter *sa* a dot is found.

(Pl. II. 2)

2. **Large Coin**

Metal : gold, Shape : round, Diameter : 17.3 mm., Weight : 1.277 gms. *Obverse* : Inside a circle of dots along the edge coin is divided into two parts by a horizontal line. In the upper half, an effigy of Garuḍa with human face is carved standing on horizontal line, with wings spread out. To his proper right a crescent moon and well decorated *Chakra* is found. To its proper left a sun symbol and Śaṁkha (conch shell) opening to left is carved. In the lower half, below the horizantal line, the legend *Śrīprasannamātra* in boxh-haded characters of Brāhmī is inscribed. Below the letter *sa* of legend a cluster of six dots is found. (Pl. II. 3).

The issues of small sized repousse gold coins of three rulers are known so far. There details are as follows :

Name of ruler.	Size	Weight	legend
1. Varaharāja[1]	15 mm.	0.498 gm.	*Śrīvarāha*
2. Stambha[2]	16 mm.	0.720 gm.	*Stambha*
3. Prasannamātra	12 mm.	0.561 gm	*Śrīprasana*

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[1] *JNSI*, I, pp. 31 ff.

[2] Nigam, L. S., 'Hitherto Unknow Repousse Gold Coins of Nandanarāja and Stambha, *Summary of Paper 29th. All Ind. Ori Conf*, p. 225; *Prāchya-Pratibhā* Vol. V. No. 1. pp. 69-74. & Jain, B. C. : *JNSI*, XL, pp. 109.

The coins of Varāharāja known from Edenga hoard[1] bear the bull device in their upper half. The larger coins bear the legend *Śrīvarāharāja*, while on smaller coins it is summarised as *Śrīvarāha*. This style may also be observed on the present small coin of Prasannamātra. The legend, on the already known larger coins, is *Śrīprasannamātra*, while here on the smaller coin it is *Śrīprasana*. It is to be noted that this ruler is popularly referred as *Śrīprasanna* in the inscriptions of his successors, therefore, it may be suggested that the legend should be *Śrīprasanna*. In the absence of any other specimen of this type of coin nothing definite can be said. Considering the above facts it may be presumed that the name *Stambha* found on another smaller coin is incomplete. The complete name of the issuer was possibly *Stambharāja* as the name of other Nala rulers of Bastar are styled on their repousse gold coins. It is significant that the word *Sri* does not appear before the name of Stambha.

The weight of the smaller coin of Prasannamātra is 0.561 gm. (or 4.9 Rattis). Thus it seems to be struck according to the weight system mentioned by Manu and Yājñavalkya of a *māshaka* or five *rattis* or *krishṇalas*.[2] Smaller coins of Varāharāja weigh 7.7 grain (0.498 gm. or 4.3 *rattis*). In this connection Mirashi says, 'Smaller coins representing a *masha* of five *krishṇala* and larger one three *māshas* each.'[3] The highest weight of the larger repousse gold coins, prior to the discovery of Kuliā hoard, was 24.6 grains (about 13.5 *rattis*) known from Edenga hoard.[4] The weight of the coin of Bhavadattarāja, discovered from Kuliā hoard,[5] is the highest known weight i. e. 1.775 gms. Its weight is very near to the three *mashakas* or 15 *rattis*. The weight of the coin of Stambha is 0.720 gm. (or 6.2 *rattis*). It does not seem to belong to the above mentioned weight system and is higher than a *māshaka* of 5 *rattis*.

In these circumstances the question arises whether repousse gold coins are actually struck for circulation as money or a token or largesse money. A large number of repousse gold coins have been already discovered.

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1. *JNSI*, I, p. 31 ff.
2. Bhandarkar, D. R. : *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 213.
3. *JNSI*, I, p. 31.
4. Ibid.
5. *Prāchya Pratibhā*, Vol. V, No. 1, p. 72.

They were issued by many rulers and have various devices.[1] Few coins seem to have been in circulation for a long period.[2] Here it may be presumed that these coins were struck for circulation as a money with local weight system. This theory is supported by the fact that a peculiar minting technique was adopted by the issuers of these coins in a particular territory and in a particular period.

The smaller coin of Prasannamātra discussed above is important because the device of *Garuḍa* usually found on the coins of this ruler is not engraved. The device of *Garuḍa* is found on the coins of two other kings, Mahendrāditya and Kramāditya. The identification of these two rulers is not certain. A group of scholars believe that these may belong to local dynasties,[3] while some others suggest that they may be identical with Kumārgupta I and Skandagupta of Imperial Gupta dynasty on the basis of their *viruda* Mahendrāditya and Kramāditya,[4] and propose to accept the second theory. R. B. Prayag Dayal published a repousse gold coin preserved in Lucknow Museum.[5] Nisar Ahmed reads *sa* of Brāhmī on the left side. According to him this coin was probably issued by king Mahendra of South Kośala mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta who put the initial of his overlord Samudragupta.[6] If we accept that this coin was issued in the name of Samudragupta then we may further suggest that the coins with legend Mahendrāditya and Kramāditya might belong to Gupta kings Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta respectively.

The sovereignty of the Imperil Guptas is well-known in the South Kośala.[7] Prasannamātra was ruling probably in the first quarter of the sixth century A. D. in the Chhattisgarh region. The reigns of Kumārgupt I

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1. *Vide* my Paper '*Numismatography of Repousse Gold Coins*' to be published elsewhere.
2. *JNSI*, I, pp. 31 ff.
3. Rode, *JNSI*, X, 105-110; Mirashi, *Ibid*, XVI, p. 215-18 Jain, *Ibid*, XVI, pp. 215-218; Mishra, *IHQ*, XXXVI, pp. 23-30; Nisar Ahmad, *JNSI*, XXVI, pp. 31-39.
4. Prayag Dayal, *NS*, XLVI, p. 11; Ajit Ghose, *Ibid*, XLVI, p. 21-22; Jain, *JNSI*. XXII, p. 184-87.
5. *NS*, XLIV, p. 11
6. *JNSI*, XXXIII, pt. II, pp. 115ff.
7. Nigam, L. S., Chhattisgarh men Gupta Adhisattā (in Hindi) *Medha*, No. 10.

and Skandagupta extended respectively from 415 to 455 A. D. and from 455 to 467 A. D. Thus it is clear that Prasannamātra ruled after them.[1] This may be further supported by the recent discovery of the coin under reference. Probably Prasannamātra adopted the pattern and style of the coins of Mahendrāditya and Kramāditya and put the *Garuḍa* device on his coins. It is also possible that in his early period he was under the sovereignty of the Guptas. The presence of *Garuḍa* device justifies this view. Later on he become independent and removed the *Garuḍa* symbol from his coins. In place of *Garuḍa*, the Gupta emblem, he put the *chakra* symbol on his coin to show his faith in Vaishṇavism, was not far from Mahendrāditya and Kramāditya as the coins of these rulers and known from the Māḍāguḍā hoard.

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[1] Nisar Ahmad accepts Prasannamātra to be the earlist king and places Mahendrāditya and Kramāditya after him, *JNSI*, XXXIII, pt. I, pp. 61-62.

NEW EVIDENCE CONCERNING GOLD PROTO-TYPE SILVER COINS OF THE GUPTA EMPERORS

B. R. MANI

(Pl. II. 4-6)

It will be readily acknowledged that in spite of much discussion and numismatic convictions about the evidence of Gupta money there remain intricate problems arising out of new evidence of unspecified and rare pieces which draw attention and lead to rebuttal of certain well founded theories in the Gupta history. The general assumptions regarding silver currency of the Gupta emperors can be modified to a reasonable extent in the light of a chance discovery of certain new and rare silver coins which I have recently come across and which may be investigated along with some earlier notices of allied nature which had not been taken congnisance before for want of confirmatory evidence.

On 28th May, 1981, I met Mr. Suraj Prasad of the Mataprasad Sitaram firm which deals in antiquities in Thatheri Bazar of Varanasi. I chanced to find there three unspecified silver coins of the Imperial Guptas, of which two had considerable green putrefaction while one, belonging to the known variety of the gold circulation of Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type, was cleansed.

After cleaning the coins in the laboratory of the department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology of B. H. U.[1] I deciphered in these issues three genres of Gupta emperors including Chandragupta I, Samudragupta and Chandragupta II Vikramāditya. So far, very few coins in silver of Chandragupta I and Samudragupta are known. The third one is apparently unique in the sense that silver coin of the gold proto-type of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya has not been published before, as far as I know.

The owner of the coins assures that these coins had been brought from another dealer of Shahganj (Jaunpur District of Uttar Pradesh) who had 25 to 30 more coins recovered from the same hoard. The provenance of these coins has been Saidpur-Bhitari in Ghazipur district from where enormous number of antiquities of the Gupta period have been brought to light. The precise number of the coins and their exact provenance can not be accurately determined. Accessibility to the hoard may give a chance of making out the entire colleetion by sifting evidences of the new finds.

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[1] I wish to thank Sri Banarasi Prasad for laboratory assistance.

The matter is to be taken with caution since one of the coins, the Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type, is identical with what has been published by A. L. Srivastava in *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVII, 1975 pp. 83 ff. and appears to have been made by the same die. Srivastava states Jaunpur to be the provenance of the silver coin which seems to have trickled out of the same hoard. P. L. Gupta raised doubts about the genuinness of the hoard, as I discussed the matter with him. There is another possibility of the coins having been struck by the same die and ensued from a mint-spot.

Scholars are more generally of the view that Chandragupta II was the "first emperor of the Gupta dynasty who introduced a silver coinage. A silver coinage beeame necessary after the conquest of Mālava and Kathiawad, where the early and later Western Kshatrapas had been issuing such coins from about the 1st century B. C."[1]

The evidence of silver coins of Chandragupta I and Samudragupta in addition to the present find may counteract this belief and substantiate that silver coins were issued for the first time by Chandragupta I among the imperial Guptas. Chandragupta II also in the early years of his reign issued silver coins simllar to his gold issues; later, after the conquest of the regions of western India which belonged to the Saka-Kṣhatrapas, he introduced a new kind of silver coins on the pattern of the Śaka-Kshtrapa coins.

Another recent find of four silver coins of Chandragupta I and Samudragupta from western parts of India evinces 'considerable putrefaction' on them'.[3] The coins under discussion also had been replete with patina before cleaning. The wide circulation of the coins is vouched by their provenance, the former find from western India and the latter from eastern U. P. So, genuinness of the silver coinage of the Imperial Guptas,

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2. Banerji, R. D., *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, Banaras Hindu University-1933, p. 221.
3. Singh, Y. B., 'Some Recently Found Silver Coins of the Imperial Guptas', *JNSI*, Vol. XLI, 1979, p. 47 ff.

who seem to have struck silver coins similar to the issues in gold, must not be outstanced. I reproduce, here, photographs of the coins before cleaning and after cleaning as they emerged into and from the laboratory. These are as follows :

Coin no. 1 : (**Pl. II. 4**)

Type	: Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type.
Metal	: Silver
Shape	: Circular
Diameter	: 2.09 cms. (mean)
Thickness	: 0.22 cms. (mean)
Specific Gravity	: 9.72

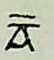
Obverse : Emperor Chandragupta I standing left, facing him is empress Kumāradevī, both nimbate, the emperor is wearing tight-fitting tailed coad and trousers having decorative patterns or buttons in front upto the thigh, the pearl bordered head-dress looking like a turban or a helmet, tied in the back portion of the head; wearing earrings, necklace, beaded armlets, bracelets and shoes, holding in his left hand a standard with fillets. He seems to be showing some indistinct object to the empress rather than offering her a gift because she is standing with her hands placed backwards and not depicted to accept gift. She is wearing a *sārī*, possibly an upper garment too, wearing ear-rings, necklace and is seemingly crested.

On the right, under the emperor's left arm on either side of the standard is the legend

Chaṁ *Gu*
dra *pta*

both written vertically. On the left, behind the empress, the legend from 8.00 O'clock to 10.00 O'clock is *kumaradava* (*Kumāradevī*).

Reverse : Goddess nimbate, wearing a *sārī* and an upper garment, a himation like shawl resting on her right arm and shoulder, having a pearl ornament round her head and necklace and bangles. She is seated on a drowsy lion with her feet resting on a circular beaded mat. She is holding a noose (*pāśa)* in her right hand and a cornucopiae in her left hand like the Kushāṇa goddess Ardoxo. The goddess is identifiable with Durgā or Ambikā or Lakshmī. The usually supposed back of the throne is clear between the goddess and the legend.

Symbol in the upper left corner is  .

Legend from 2.00 O'clock to 4.00 O'clock is *Lachchhavayaḥ* (*Lichchhavayaḥ*).

Coin No. 2 : **(Pl. II. 5)**

Type	:	Samudragupta's standard type
Metal	:	Silver
Shape	:	Circular
Diameter	:	2.11 cms. (mean)
Thickness	:	0.22 cm. (mean)
Weight	:	4.9000 gms.
Specific Gravity	:	9.09

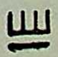
Obverse : Emperor Samudragupta standing left, mimbate, wearing tight-fitting tailed coat, trousers, boots, and also close-fitting cap with pearl boarder and ear-rings. He is holding in his left hand the standard with fillets and is shown offering oblations with his right hand on fire-altar of which three flames are visible. Garuḍa standard is marked behind the fire-altar.

Legend under the emperor's left arm, written vertically,
Sa
mu
dra

The circular legend, beginning at 1.00 O'clock is *samaraśatavata....* (*samaraśatavitatavijayo jitaripurajito divaṁ jayati*).

Reverse : The goddess, with nimbate, wearing a *sārī*, an upper garment or himation-like shawl, resting on her shoulders and having a pearl ornament round her head. Seated on a four-legged throne, the goddess is holding a noose (*pāśā*) in her out-stretched right hand and a cornucopiae in the left hand placed on the left shoulder.

The coin has dotted border.

Symbol in the upper left corner is .  .

The legend from 2.00 O'clock to 3.30 O'clock is *Parākramaḥ*.

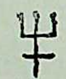
Coin No. 3. **(Pl. II. 6)**

Type	:	Chandragupta II's Chhatra type, similar to the class II, varieties C and D of Altekar's *Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coin of the Bayana Hoard.*
Metal	:	Silver
Shape	:	Circular
Diameter	:	1.67 cms. (mean)
Thickness	:	0.33 cm. (mean)
Weight	:	4.5782 gms.
Specific Gravity	:	9.23

Obverse : Emperor Chandragupta II Vikramāditya standing left, wearing a *dhotī* and seemingly bare upwards; hair falling behind on the neck, ear-rings, necklace and armlets are clear, offering oblations with his right hand on the altar before him, left hand rests on the hilt of the sword which hangs by his side. A dwarf is holding a parasol (*Chhatra*) with fillets over him. The attendant, who is partly turned away from the emperor, but looking back at him, is holding the parasol in his right hand and his left hand rests on his upraised left thigh.

The circular legend beginning at 12.30 O'clock and ending at 11.00 O'clock, is *kshatamava....tya....kra....tyaḥ (kshitimavajitya sucharitairdivaṁ jayati Vikramādityaḥ*).

Reverse : The goddess, nimbate, standing in a walking posture to left and wearing, perhaps, a *sāṛī* and a shawl-like upper garment. Her hair is tied in knot behind the head and is wearing ear-rings, necklace, bangles and anklets. She is holding noose (*pāśa* in her stretched right hand and a long stalk of lotus in her left hand.

Symbol in the upper left corner is  .

Legend is almost off the flan. Letter *kra* of the legend *Vikkramādityaḥ* is visible.

On treating these coins with HNO_3 (nitric acid) green colour was obtained indicating the presence of copper in the coins. It attests that the coins are not of pure silver, but they are made of silver alloyed with copper, as it is also confirmed by their specific gravity.

Three features seem to be distinct on the silver coins of Chandragupta I. The usual joint-letters *ndra* of '*Chandra*' as found on the gold coins, are styled as *Chaṁdra* in the silver issues. It is also evident on the coins published by Y. B. Singh. Palaeographically, there is an *anuswāra* over *cha* and it is interesting to note that *chaṁ* is vertically linked with '*dra*'. The crescent between the heads of Chandragupta and Kumāradevī as usually depicted in the gold coins is absent in the silver ones as is attested by both the finds. The legend *Śrīkumāradevī* of gold coins is written in the silver ones as *Kumāradevī* only and there is no place for prefixing letter *Śrī* on the silver coins. In the specimens of Y. B. Singh also letters of the legend are to be traced beginning only with the letter *Ku*.

Finally, on the reverse of the Chhatra type of the coin of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, the sole letter *kra* creates doubt because the Chhatra type of coins of Skandagupta have got the legend *Kramādityaḥ*. The close examination of this silver coin of Chandragupta II assures that *kra* is not the full letter solely found but it is the lowar part of the conjunct letter *kkra* and the whole legend has gone out of the flan. That the coin belongs to Chandragupta II is further evinced by the fact that some of the letters of the legend found on Chandragupta's gold issues have been deciphered on the obverse of this coin.

The assumption that this coin is not that of Skandagupta points to the fact that Guptas till the time of Chandragupta II issued silver coins only of the same variety as those of gold issues. In later years of Chandragupta II and afterwards Saka-Kshatrapa type was adopted with modifications in the silver currency.

It may be concluded that from the emergence of the Gupta empire upto Chandragupta II's early rule the Guptas issued silver coins on the same pattern as those of gold, but later when Chandragupta got victory over the Western-Kshatrapas, he began the new type of smaller silver coins on the pattern of the coins of the Saka-Kshatrapas. For this change, the earlier gold-type of silver coins had to be melted on a large scale during and after the reign of Chandragupta II. That is why of the later Gupta emperors no silver coin of gold type is ever reported. This may be the reason of the paucity of such silver coins of gold variety of the early Gupta emperors.

ON AN IMITATION GUPTA GOLD COIN FROM SUNDARBAN

P. K. BHATTACHARYYA

(Pl. II. 8)

The present gold coin was discovered along with three coins of Saśāṅk on the bank of the river Curzoncreek in "G"-Plot, 24-Parganas (West Bengal). This is in an excellent state of preservation and belongs to a class of coins with *Śrī* on the obverse.

Description of the coin. (**Pl. II. 8**)

Metal : Gold

Weight : 5.558 gms. (including that of the attached gold ring apparently meant for using it as a locket or talisman)

Weight of the ring : 0.17 gm.

Sp. Gr, : 14.86.

Size : 22 mm.

Size of the ring : 5 mm,

Shape : Round (with border of large dots on either side as we generally find on some coins of Śaśāṅka)

Observe : King, nimbate, standing to l., holding bow in l. hand and arrow in r. The standard which is behind the r. hand, is surmounted by the head of a horse. The legend below r. hand : *Śa* (possibly stands for *Śrī*)

Reverse : Goddess standing to r.; she appears to wear a robe that flows behind her.[3] Before her there is a legend which cannot be read[4]

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[1] These are now preserved in a small museum attached to the Uttar Surendraganj High School, 'G'-Plot, 24-parganas (West Bengal). The Head Master of the School kindly allowed me to study the coins. My friend Dr. Ganguly of the Geological Survey of India also kindly supplied me with the specific gravity and other relevant technical information about the present coin.

[2] In some cases the goddess is shown to have six—or eight hands or ten hands. A. S. Altekar, *The Coins of the Gupta Empire*, Varanasi, 1957, p. 336, cf. *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, C. U. Vol. IV, p. 188, V, p. 188 fn.

[3] J. Allan, *Cataloque of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, London, 1914, (Indian Reprint, p. vii) thinks that this may be an exaggeration of the fillet held by the seated Lakshmi.

[4] Scholars describe this as a barbarous copy of the Gupta legend (Allan, *loc. cit.* Altekar, *loc. cit*).

satisfactorily; in her r. hand, held up before her there is some object, perhaps a fruit.

This type of coins have been discovered in large number mostly from south eastern portion of the undivided Bengal. The present one is, however, the only coin discovered from this part of the deltaic regions of West Bengal. Besides Allan and Altekar many scholes like N. K, Bhattasali,[1] P. C. Chakraborti,[2] R. C. Majumdar,[3] A. N. Lahiri[4] and D. C. Sircar[5] have discussed these coins.

There seems to be no exact prototype for this in the Gupta coinage. Hence, these coins are not to be classed as imitation Gupta coins.[6] The present coin, like few other similar coins, is connected by weight and by the border of large dots with some of the coins of Śaśāṅka,

It was generally believed that these coins were struck during 6th-7th centuries and were made of gold only.[7] But the recent discoveries at Mainamati show that they were also struck in even much later period and were made of copper and silver.[8] A unique coin of this class with the legend *Śrī Vaṅgāla-Mṛigāṅkasya* discovered from the period III level of Lalmai excavations has been taken to be the product of the 8th century under the Deva dynanty.[9] It appears to have served as a prototype for other pieces which were struck even in the 9th century A. D. It is possible that under the Khaḍgas and the Deva rulers, if not under the Rātas, as suggested by Sircar,[1] this numismatic tradition continued uninterupted in the south-eastern regions of Begal. This, however, clearly points to the adequate political and commercial importance of the Mainamati-Lalmai urban centres upto the 8th century. The existence of the Bull and Triglyph type of gold and silver issues,[2] which resemble some Arakani coins, has undoubtedly extended the phase of its importance to the 11th century, if we do not reject the hypothesis that these coins belonged to the Chandra kings.[3]

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[1] Following R. D. Banerjee (*ASI*, *AR*, 1913, p. 288) Bhattasali previously attributed these coins to the later Guptas. Later on, he revised his opinion; *Num. Sup.*, 1923, pp. 57 ff.

[2] *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 666.

[3] *The Classical Age*, p. 77.

[4] *Early Indian Indigenous Coins*, ed. D. C. Sircar, 1970, p. 69.

[5] *Journal of Ancient Indian History* C. U. vol. IV pp. 186. ff.

[6] *Ibid*, Vol. V, p. 191, Incidentally, A. N. Lahiri describes these coins as the first national currency of Bengal.

[7] *History of Bengal*, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67, D. C. Sircar suggests that these coins were issued by the private moneyers during the rule of the Khaḍgas and Devas of East Bengal, if not also of the Rātas, (*Journal of Ancient Indian History*, *op. cit.* pp. 189-90.

[8] Cf. M. H. Rashid, 'The Mainamati gold coins' in *Bengladesh Lalitkala*, No. 1, 1975, p. 44.

[9] *Ibid*, pp. 49-50, Pl. XXIII, 3. F. A. Khan, *Mainamati* Karachi, 1963, p. 25.

The absence of metallic currency in the long reigns of the Pālas and the Senas is, no doubt, an intriguing problem and may or may not purely be ascribed to the decline of trade and industrial production resulting in the dependence of a greater number of people on land. But the picture that we have from south-east Bengal is one of the 'remarkable contrast'. The discovery of a large number of coins, from the Mainamati—Lalmai region testifies that the region had at least 'a fluctuating money economy'[4] in the early mediaeval period. The present coin, which might have travelled from the place of its orgin through the merchants, was naturally not a media of exchange in the new place and consequently, was thought fit to be worn as necklace.

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1. See *Journal of Ancient Indian History, loc. cit.*
2. Cf. *Bangladesh Lalit Kala*, I., No. 1, pp. 57-8; A. H. Dani, 'Coins of the Chandra Kings of East Bengal' *JNSI*, XXIV, 1962, pp. 141-2, 'Mainamati Plates of the Chandras'. *Pakistan Archaeology*, iii, 1966, p. 27.
3. Cf. M. R. Tarafdar, 'Trade and Society in Early Medieval Bengal', *The Indian Historical Review*, New Deihi, Jan. 1978, loc. IV, ad. 2 p. 227.
4. *Ibid*, p. 274.

THE PROBLEM OF MAHARAJA SRI GUPTA

RAJENDRA KUMAR SETHI

(PL. II. 7 & 7a)

The coin under reference is described as follows :

Metal : Copper, Size : 0.375 inches/9 mm., Shape : round, Weight · 27.4.

Obeverse : Bull going to l. The hump is clearly seen. A circle of dots, which are mostly out of the flan.

Reverse : Legend *Mahārājaśrīguptasya* in Brāhmī of Gupta period.

Pl II. 7 & 7a.

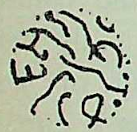
This coin was bought by me from Vidisha.

All the letters of the legend have been partly cut, as the coin-die is bigger than the flan of the coin. *Ma* is cut, but it can be easily made out. Similarly *Ha*, *Ra* and *Ja* can also be read. The upper part of *Sri* is cut. The next letter is a small line bent towards right and the next one is a long line bent towards the first line in the upper part. The lower part extends to the middle of the coin. The long line includes the *ū mātrā*, and both together can be read as *gu*. The next letter is *pa*, the upper part of which is cut, but still it can be made out. *Ta* is clear and full. This is because it is in conjuction with the last letter and as such it should be below the last letter. These two together can be read as *pta*. The next letter has suffered the most. It is a long wavy live with two dots, one on either side. I read this line as *ya* coujuncted with another letter, which can only be seen in the upper part of the line and two dots. So, I take it as *sya*. The legend thus is *Mahārājaśrīguptasya*.

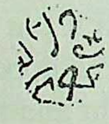
I exhibited the coin at Indore during the Silver Jubilee celeberations of Indore Museum and at Poona at the Annual Conference of N. S. I. Many scholars agreed with me about the reading of the legand.

It was first reported in a foot-note in the *Journal of Malava Itihas Parishad* and later on in the *Journal of the Acadamy of Numismatics and Sigiliography* and *Prāchya Pratibhā*. I discussed abut this coin with many scholars and more points have emerged, which I am presenting here.

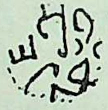
The coin resembles Naga coins and when I refered to H. V. Trivedi's work[1] on Nage coins, I was surprised to find another coin which closely resembles it. It is coin no. 45 on his plate IV. On this coin also can be read *Mahārajaśrīgupta*· while Trivedi has atributed it to Mahārāja Sri Ganapati Nāga. I carefully looked at the plates of the coins of Ganapati Naga, but I could not confirm Dr. Trivedi's reading. One more coin no. 4 on plate VI, which Dr. Trivedi reads as Mahārāja Sri Shatva, seems to be the coin of Sri Gupta. The second line of the letter *ga* is longer in both the coins, therefore, it will have to be read as *gu*. I am giving the line drawings of the two above mentioned coins along with mine (enlarged). I have put the paper an the photograph and drawn it. So also I am giving an eye copy of the legend, basing it on my coin. The upper part, above the line, is out of the flan as coin-die was bigger than the flan of the coin. 'A' is the line drawing of my coin, 'B' is coin no. 45 plate IV, 'C' is coin no. 4 plate VI and 'D' is restoration of the legend.



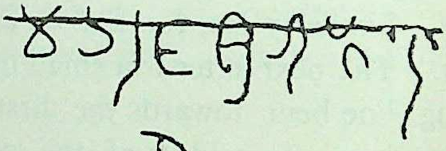
A



B



C



D

Dr. Trivedi has read the legends on the coins of Ganapati Naga (?) as Ganapatindra, Ganendra, Ganapati and Ganapendra. He thinks him to be the last king of Padmavati. The Naga kings of Padmavati, according to him, are in this order : Vṛisha or Vṛishabha, Bhima, Skanda etc. ending with Ganapati Naga. But this is conjuctral because literary and other sources do not confirm it. True, of course, is the mention of Bhava Naga in an inscription of Vakatakas.

It is now established[2] that Padmavati mentioned in the Puranas and 'Mālati Mādhava' of Bhavabhuti is Pavayya or Padam-pavayya. Apart from similarities in names, the rivers mentioned by Bhavabhuti in 'Mālati Mādhava'[3] i. e. Sindhu, Para, Lavana, and Madhumati have been identified with the present rivers Sindhu, Parvati, Nuna, and Mahnas. Not only this, but a waterfall is also mentioned by him on Sindhu river whose modern name is also Sindhu. The find of Naga coins in abundance also supports this. It is 50 miles from Gwalior and within 100 miles of Vidisha and Mathura.

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[1] *Catalogue of the Coins of the Naga kings of Padmavati*, Gwalior, 1957.

[2] There was controvercy among scholars about the location of Padmavati. B. N. Lele first suggested in his Marathi book 'Malti Madhava Sar ani Vichara' that this Padama Pavayya is Padmavati. By the excavations conducted by Georde it has been conclusively proved that this is so.

[3] Mentioned in Act IX by a character in the play.

The existance of Ganapati Naga is independently proved by his mention in the 21st line of Samudragupta's Prayaga-Praśasti.[1] In this line it is mentioned that along with Nagasena and seven others he was violently exterminated. This conclusively proves that both Nagasena and Ganapati Naga were contemprories of Samudragupta.

Bana Bhatta in the '*Harshacharita*'[2] mentions that Nagasena was the king of Padmavati. In the sixth chapter Bana Bhatta mentions 28 kings who were killed because of the conspiracy and unfair means adopted by them in war. Bana writes : 'यथा नागकुल जन्मनः सारिकाश्राविनमन्त्रस्यासीन्नाशो नागसेनस्य पद्मावत्याम'. As a result of a conspiracy Nagasena, the king of Padmavati was destroyed. Who destroyed him is not mentioned by Bana, but by reference to Samudragupta's Prayaga-Praśasti it is clear that it was Samudragupta who destroyed him. Therefore, it is clear that Ganapati Naga could not have been the king of Padmavati, as suggested by Dr. H. V. Trivedi.

Bhandarkar[3] thinks that he was the king of Vidiśa. Altekar[4] considers him the king of Mathura, P. L.[5] Gupta agrees with him. On the basis of a hand written manuscript 'Bhāva Śataka', Kashi Prasad Jaysawal[6] takes him to be the king of Dhara, identifiable with Dhara near Mandu and Indore. It is mentioned in 'Bhāva Śataka' :

नागराज समं (शनं) ग्रंथ नागराज तन्वना अकारि गज वक्र श्री नागराजौ गिरा गुरुः ।। and पन्नगपतयः सर्वें वीक्षन्ने गणपतिं मीनाः ।। (80) and धाराधीशः (62).[7]

'Bhāva Śataka' was written in the time of Ganapati Naga and is dedicated to him. The ruling period as calculated by Kashi Prasad Jaysawal is circa 310 to 344 A. D. This conclusively proves that Ganapati Naga was not the king of Padmavati.

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1. Fleet, *CII*, III.
2. *Harshacharita*, Nirnaya Sagar Press Bombay 1946.
3. IHQ, I, p. 255.
4. *Vakataka Gupta Age*, page 141.
5. *Gupta Samrājya*, page 250.
6. *Catalague of Mithila Manuscripts*, Pt. II page 105.
7. *Ibid.*

Guptas do not claim their descent from a god or a mythological personality. Neither they claim that they erupted from the sacrifisal fire or Agni-kuṇḍa of any *rishi*. Their geneology abruptly starts with Sri Gupta. In their epigraphs they do not also mention their caste. Jayaswal[1] takes them to be Jats, Ojha[2] believes that they were Kshatriyas. Ray Chaudhary[3] thinks them to be Brahamins. Satyaketu Vidyalankara[4] is of the opinion that they were Vaiśyas. They call themselves a Paramabhāgvata. They definitely do not belong to the lower caste. Their marriage alliance with respected families, many of which were Kshatriyas, prove this. Why are epigraphs silent on this point ?

Another fact is also worth noting. The epigraphs of the Guptas are curiously silent about the facts which reflect adversely to the credits of these kings or which according to them should be supressed. A few examples will prove the point. There is no mention of Ramgupta incident, which is proved from various sources, both literary and epigraphical[5] as well as numismatic. Kachagupta is not mentioned, except the doubtful reference to 'Tulya Kulaja' in the Prayaga-praśasti, though his existence is proved by the find of his gold coins, and mention of Bhasma (Kacha) in 'Manjuśri Mūlkalpa'.[6] Ghatotkachagupta II's gold coins are found and he is known from his Basarh seal.[7] Govindgupta is proved to be the eldest son of Maharajadhiraja Chandragupta according to Basarh seal[8] which states 'महाराजाधिराज श्रो चन्द्रगुप्त (–) पत्नी महाराज गोविन्द गुप्त (–) माता महादेवी ध्रुवस्वामिनी'. The use of the word Maharaja suggests that he ruled the Gupta empire. It is further proved by the Mandsor inscription[9] of Datta Bhatt, who is the son of Vayurakshita, the commander-in-chief of Govindagupta, son of Chandragupta Vikramaditya. Similarly the successors of Purugupta do not mention Skandagupta. The seal of Narasimhagupta[10] mentions Srī Gupta but not Skandagupta. This proves that what was derogetory to Gupta kings or which was not thought proper by them has not been mentioned by them.[3] Why the predecessors of Sri Gupta are not mentioned ?

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[1] *ABORI*, Poona. 12.

[2] *Rajputānā kā Itihasa*, p. 113-4.

[3] *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th edition p. 528.

[4] *Agrawāla Jāti kā Prācheen Itihas*.

[5] Cf. Rashtrakuta epigraphs are of Śaka samvat 795, *Indian Antiquary*, 39; and of Śaka samvat 855, *Ibid* 7).

[6] Kashi Prasad Javaswal : *Imperial History of India*, Lahore 1934; and, *Trivendum Sanskrit Series*, 84, (1925) edited by T. Ganapati Shastri.

[7] *Archeological Survey of India*, 1903-4.

[8] *Ibid*.

[9] *EI*, Vol. XXVII M. B. Gadre.

[10] *JASBI*, LVIII page 84. *E I*, Vol. XIX p. 225.

This is good because qualities of Samudragupta have been brought on in Prayaga-praśasti. He restored the kingdoms to the defected kings or their successors, only as king then to pay a tribute to him. He also made treaties with many. But there is one exception as mentioned in 21st line of the inscription. He violently exterminated the nine kings. They are Rudradeva Matila, Nagadatta, Chandravarma, Ganapati Naga, Nagasena, Achyuta, Nandi and Balavarman. Why was he so ruthless with these kings ? Who were they ?

The Vishṇu Purāṇa mentions :

'नव नागास्तु भोक्ष्यन्ति पुरीं पद्मावती नृपाः ।
मथुरा च पुरीं रम्यां नागा भोक्ष्यन्ति सप्तवै' ॥[1]

So nava-nagas were the kings of Padmavati and Mathura. The Vayu Purana states "नव नागाः मथुरायां कान्तिपुर्यां पद्मावत्याम् ॥[2]. So a third nava-naga king is known, who was the king of Kantipuri. This Kantipuri is still not properly identified. May it be Kutwar in Morena district, where more than 18000 Naga coins were recovered. Cunnigham considers it a very ancient city. Ganapati Naga is definitely a naga king. Fleet[4] and Growse[5] think that the seal recovered at Buland Shahar engraved *Malita* belongs to Matila of Allahabad inscription. It has a serpant engraved on it so he may also be a naga king. By the name Naga he seems to be a Naga king. Jayaswal[6] thinks he is a successor of Mahishwar Naga whose seal has been found at Lahore. P. L. Gupta[7] conjuncturs that Nandi refers to Nagaraja Shivanandi. So five names out of nine are Naga kings. They are Matila, Nagdatta, Nandi, Nagsena and Ganapati Naga. There were Naga kings at Kantipuri, Vidiśa and Mathura, though their names are not known. There was possibly a Naga king at Narwar, about 30 miles from Padmavati. One cannot definitely say that the Allahabad inscription positively refers to the last four kings. But we will

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1. Edited by Vivananda Bhattacharya page 585,
2. *DKA*, page 53, *JNSI*, V page 118.
3. Cunningham, *ASR*, page 303.
4. *EI*, 18 page 289.
5. *Imperial Gazateer*, 2, page 39.
6. *History of India*, pages 34, 142.
7. *Gupta Samrajya*, page 260.

have to agree with Rapson[1] that these nine were the nava-Nagas mentiond in the Puranas. The word *nava* means new as well as nine. Why Samudragupta violently exterminated these nine Naga kings ? Why these are the only exception to the policy of the Gupta king ?

What teritories Sri Gupta ruled ? Nothing is certain. The Vayu Purana[2] states.

अनुगंगा प्रयागं च साकेतम् मगधांस्तथा ।
एतान् जनपदान् सर्वान् भोक्ष्यन्ते गुप्त वंशजाः ॥

In the Vishnu Purana[3] there is a line :

"अनुगंगम् मागधा गुप्ताश्च मागधान् भोक्ष्यन्ति ।"

Therefore S. V. Sohoni is of the opinion that Sri Gupta must have ruled a part of the territory.[4] This gets support from the writings of the Chinese traveller Itsing.[5] According to him following the Ganges and crossing Mṛigasikha-vana one comes to a temple or Vihara made for the Chinese pilgrims by Sri Gupta (Cha-li-ko-to). According to him this is an old story. So Sri Gupta must have ruled some where near this. Sohoni believes that he was the ruler of north Kośala.

Sohani suggested a possibility that Sri Gupta conquered the Naga kings and issued coins in the style of Nagas. Numismatic field has such traditions. Gupta kings issued silver coins copied from Kshatrapas after conquering them. Even Mohammad Ghory did the same. But in this case this does not seem tenable. A small king ruling some where in north Kośala or thereabouts could not cross half of India to conquer the Naga kings. Moreover the Puranas do not describe him as a great conqueror. Most of this territory was later on conquered by Samudragupta.

I do not for a minute dispute that Sri Gupta was a small king of a place some where near north Kośala. But he was not the hereditary king of that place, otherwise Gupta inscriptions would have mentioned his predecessors. From where did he migrate and under what circumstances ? Nothing is known. The significant silence of Gupta inscriptions

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1. *JRAS*, 1877, page 421.
2. *Op. cit.*
3. *Op. cit.*
4. At Indore he expressed this views. Later on in personal talks also he conveyed it to me.
5. As translated by S. Beal.

lead to the conjucture that he left the place of his origin under very embrassing circumstances.

Conjoin it with the fact that Narsimhgupta mentions in his seal seven predicessors. Samudragupta in his inscription mentions only three—Sri Gupta, Ghatotakachagupta and Chandragupta. I would like to stress that Narsimhgupta mentions them in a seal, while the latter is an inscription, where there is greater scope for including matters. Samudragupta is purposefully silent about it. Why ?

It has been establihed that Nagasena was the last king of Padmavati and a contemporary of Samudragupta. So if the coins, which are identified by H. V. Trivedi as the coins of Ganapati Naga are again examined I am sure many would turn out to be the coins of Sri Gupta, at least two are so. C. S. Gupta of Nagpur informed me that he has many coins of Sri Gupta and they closely resemble Naga coins.[1]

Ajaya Mitra Shastri has another objection, though he agrees with my reading of the legend.[2] Prabhavati Gupta, the Vakataka queen, was the daughter of Chandragupta and Kubernaga. This marriage would not have been possible in case Guptas came from Naga stock. Balchandra Jain[3] of Jabalpur replied that Naga was not a gotra but a race. I further add that the Mahabharata mentions many varities of Nagas, some of whom are serpants and appear as such and also in human form such as Takshaka, who bit and killed Parikshit. Astika who was the son of a *rishi* and a serpant princess. His mother was Jakatkaru who married the *rishi* of that very name, the friend of Indra who is referred in the khandawavana burning etc. Examples can be multiplied. And some who though called Nagas were human beings such as Siślupala Naga. So it was generic name which encampasses many caste and races.

Under what extra ordinary circumstances and embrasing situation Sri Gupta left his original home whether at Padmavati or any other place, can not be ascertained now but it was not a congenial one. One thing is certain that the Guptas tried hard to forget it. And afterwards Samudragupta took violent revange at the nine Naga kings.

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1. He informed at Indore when he was there to attend the Jubilee functions of Indore Museum.
2. Voiced by him at the conference of Jubilee functions at Indore.
3. Voiced by him at the same conference.

RARE SILVER CONIS OF THE KALACHURIS

Km. USHA JAIN

(Pl. IV. 2—3)

Two silver coins of the Kalachuri kings of Madhya Pradesh have recently been collected by Shri R. R. Bhargava, Publicity Officer of the Life Insurance Corporation of India, Jabalpur from village Tewar (ancient Tripurī) about 13 kms. from Jabalpur. As these coins are important from the numismatic point (silver coins of Gāṅgeyadeva of Tripurī being rare and those of Ratnadeva of Ratnapura being hitherto unknown), they are brought to the notice of the scholars, with the kind permission of Sri Bhargava.

(1) Coin of Gangeyadeva (Pl. IV. 2)

Metal : Silver.
Size : 1.75 cm. in diameter.
Weight : 3 gms.
Obverse : The legend in Nāgarī characters in three lines,
1. *Śrīmadg* [ā]
2. *ṅgeyade*
3. [*va*]
Reverse : Inside the circle of dots, gooddess Lakshmī seated in *lalitāsana* with left leg hanging down. She has four hands. Her left upper hand is holding a lotus bud. The figure of the goddess is crude in execution. There is a semi-circle of rays (*prabhāmaṇḍala*) but the face of the goddess is not very distinct.

The silver coins of Gāṅgeyadeva are rare. Cunningham[1] published some specimens, one of which weighed only 7 grns. Vincent A. Smith referred to these coins, but observed that all the pieces which seem at first sight to be of silver were regarded officially as being gold.[2] A hoard of 54 silver coins of Gāṅgeyadeva has been published in *JNSI*, XVIII, pp. 205-06. One small size silver coin of this king was found in Hathiagadha (Tripurī) which weighed only 4 grains, thus being 1/16 part of a dramma.[3] The present coin is clear white and made of pure silver. There is nothing like yellowish on it. Thus, it is clear that Gāṅgeyadeva issued silver coins and followed the same weight standard for his gold and silver currency.

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[1] *CMI*, p. 72.

[2] *Indian Museum Catalogue*, Vol. I, p. 252.

[3] *JNSI*, XIX, p. 74.

(2) Coin of Ratnadeva (Pl. IV. 3)

Metal : Silver.
Size : 1.80 cm. in diameter.
Weight : 3.25 gms.
Obverse : The legend in Nāgarī characters in two lines,
(1) *Śrīmadra-*
(2) *tnade* (*va*)
Reverse : Crude representation of *gajaśārdula* (lion with tail upraised to right with elephant lying prostrate below).

The silver coins of Ratnadeva were not known so far. This is for the first time that a silver coin of Ratnadeva of the eastern branch of the Kalachuris has come to light.[1] There were three Ratnadevas in the Ratnapur line of the Kalachuris. To whom these coins belong ? Shri B. M. Nath is of the view that Ratnapura coinage was first introduced by Ratnadeva II (*JNSI* XIII, pp. 199ff.). Dr. Mirashi does not accept this. According to him, the coins bearing the name of Ratnadeva are the issues of Ratnadeva II, but the Kalachuri coinage of Ratnapura started with Jajalladeva I. (*CII*, IV, clxxxvii-clxxxviii). But, now with the discovery of a silver coin of Ratnadeva with another of Gāṅgeyadeva, it seems that the coinage of the Kalachuris of Ratnapura was first introduced by Ratnadeva I who appears to be a junior contemporary of Gāṅgeyadeva of Tripuri[2]. This Ratnadeva I is said to have beautified the capital Tummāna with gardens, mansions and temples.[3] He also founded a new city called Ratnapura[4] to which he shifted his seat of Government. It is quite possible that Ratnadeva I introduced the coinage when the city of Ratnapura was built and was made the capital of the Kalachuris of south Kosala.

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[1] Silver coins of Kalachuri Pṛithvideva of Ratnapura branch are known, but they are also very rare.

[2] [The mere fact of one coin each of two Kings being recovered from one village does not make the two were contemporaries. Even if the coin had been found together, say from one hoard, the position would not have, changed. The identification of Ratnadeva of the slver coin with Ratnadeva I or II has to be substantiated with other arguments—L. G.]

[3] Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladeva I, V. S. 866. Verse 10, *CII* IV, p. 412.

[4] Ibid, Verses 11-12.

A NEW HOARD OF GOLD COINS OF GĀṄGEYADEVA

S. R. NEMA

(Pl. III. 1-5)

A new hoard of gold coins of the Kalachuri ruler, Gāṅgeyadeva, (Cir. 1015-1045 A. D.) has been discovered on 11.9.79 from the village Tingāmālī in the Khairagarh Tahsil of Rajnandgaon district of Madeya Pradesh. The hoard contains 4 gold coins, 6 ear ornaments and 11 measure weights (all of gold) (Plate III. 1). These are now deposited in the Government Treasury at Khairagarh.

The coins are in mint fresh condition. Each weighs 4 gms. and they measure from 1.8 cm. to 1.9 cm. The detailed description of the coins is as follows :

Obverse : The coins have inside a circle of dots the name of king as "*Shrimad Gāṅgeyadevaḥ*" in Nāgarī characters in three lines. The *visarga* following the name of Gāṅgeyadevaḥ in clear in coin No. 1. But in other coins, '*vaḥ*' in not clear.

Reverse : Inside the circle of dots, the figure of four armed Lakshmī, nimbate, sitting cross-legged with lotuses in her two upper hands and remaining two hands spread out at her sides. The figure of the goddes is artistic and beautifully carved. She wears necklace, ear-rings, braclets, girdle and anklets. There is a bead ornament around her head.

(Pl. III. 2-5)

The coins of Gāṅgeyadeva were discovered from many places in U. P. and M. P.[1]. Their identification has been thoroghly discussed by scholars like Prinsep[1], Cunningham[2], Repson[3], Smith[4], etc.

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[1] In M. P. they are known from Isurpur (*MS* No. XVII, article No. 101), Tewar, Barela and Karitalai (*JNSI*, XIX, p. 74 and XVII, p. 110, 11), Mandu (*JNSI*, XV, p. 105), Sonsari (*NNM*, No. 5 p. 17) and Jaragawan (*JNSI*. XXXIX). A hoard of 42 gold coins has recently been found from Dungaria in Seoni district of M. P. (*Prachya Pritibha*, Vol. V, No. 2, July 1977).

Ornaments and Weights

The hoard also contains six simple ear ornaments and eleven weights of measurement, all are of gold. **(Pl. III. 1)** The ear-ornaments are round in shape of thin sheet of gold with a big round hole in the centre. They are also narrowly cut at one place from the outer edge to the centre. Their weights and size are as follows :—

	Weight	*Size*
1.	4 gms. and 5 Ratis	3.6 cm. (Big size)
2.	4 gms. and 2 Ratis	3.2 cm. (Middle size)
3.	4 gms. and 2 Ratis	3.2. cm. ,,
4.	4 gms. and 2 Ratis	3.2. cm. ,,
5.	1 gm.	2.3. cm. (Small size)
6.	1 gm.	2.3. cm. ,,

All these ear ornaments were probably worn by both men and women in those days.

As to the weights they are solid and oblong in shape. The bigger one weighs 4 gms., two are 1 gm., 1 Rati each and the remaining eight are 1 gm. each in weight. On one side of the weights round marks are indicated. These weights were probably used by the goldsmiths during this period.

The hoard, thus, throws welcome light on social and economic conditions prevailing in the Khairagarh region in the elevnth century. Moreover, it may also be inferred from the study of coins as already discussed above, that Khairagarh region was under the sway of the Kalachuri king Gāṅgeyadeva (circa 1015-1045 A. D.). Kamalarāja (1020 A. D.) the Kalachuri king of the Ratanpur Branch who was probably ruling over this region acknowledged the supermacy of Gāṅgeyadeva and introduce the coins of his overlord in this region. Kamalarāja's subordinate position in also attested from the Amoda Plates[1] of Pṛithivideva I which informs us that "like the Mandara mountain of yore, Kamalarāja churned the milk ocean, which was the king of Utkala and gave Laxmi (royal fortune) as well as excellent elephants and horses to his lord Gāṅgeyadeva." The above plates, thus, obviously show that during the reign of Kamalarāja, Gāṅgeyadeva undertook an expendition against the king of Utkala (Orissa). He seems to have marched through the territory of Kamalarāja, whom he called on to join in the compaign. The latter fought for his overlord whole heartedly. Hence, it leaves no doubt to suppose that Kamalarāja of the Ratanpur branch my have got circulated the coins of Gāṅgeyadeva in the Khairagarh region.

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[1] *JASB*, IV (1835).

[2] *CASIR*, X, (180), p. 21 and coins of medieval India (1894) p. 72.

[3] Rapson, *Indian coins* (I897), p. 33.

[4] *JASB*, LXVI (1897, pp. 305-6). *Cat. of Coins of Indian Museum*, 1906, pp. 25.1 ff.

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[1] *CII*, IV, Part 2, No. 76, pp. 401 ff.

CHANDELA COINS FROM TEWAR

RAKESH JAIN

(Pls. III. 6-7 & IV. 1)

Tewar is a village about 13 kms. from Jabalpur situated on the Jabalpur Bheraghat road. It represents the ancient site of Tripurī which was the capital of the Kalachuri rulers in the medieval period.

The village has yielded varius types of early coins. A coin of Chandela king Vīravarman was found at this village sometime back and was published in JNSI, XVI, pp. 236-38. Recently three more coins of the Chandelas have come to light from this village. Out of these three coins, two are to be regarded as gold coins and the third one is a small copper coin. All the three coins belong to king Paramardideva and are of the Lakshmī type introduced by Gāṅgeyadeva of Tripurī. These coins are in the callection, Shri R. R. Bhargava, Publicity Officer of the Life Insurance Corporation of India, Jabalpur, who callected them from the above said Tewar village. The coins are described as below :—

No. 1

Metal : Base gold, Weight : 4 gms.

Obverse : 1. Śrīmatpa
2. ramarddi
3. [deva]

Reverse : Seated Lakshmī in a border of dots.

(Pl. III. 6)

NO. 2

Metal : Base gold, Weight : 3.5 gms.

Obverse : 1. Srīmatpa
2. ramarddi
3. [deva]

Reverse : Seated Lakshmī in a border of dots.

(Pl. III. 7)

No. 3

Metal : Copper, Weight : 0.75 gm.

Obverse : 1. [Srīmatpa]
2. rama [rddi]
3. [deva]

Reverse : Seated Lakshmi.

(Pl. IV. 1)

The gold coins of Paramardideva are extremely rare. Only one coin of this metal is deposited in the collection of Indian Museum, Calcutta.[1] On the other hand, no copper coin of the king was known before the discovery of the present coin. Hence the coins discussed here may be treated as unique ones.

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[1] *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 253, pl XXVI.

RECENT TREASURE TROVE FIND OF VIJAYANAGAR COINS FROM KATTUKURICHI

N. SANKARANARAYANA

(Pl. V. 1-18)

Recently a treasure trove find of thirty gold coins and seven gold bits were received from Kattukurichi village, Orthanad taluk, Thanjavur district. This treasure trove find is very significant because the coins are of Vijayanagar dynasty and were found in the southern district of Tamilnadu. This is the first time that more than thirty gold coins of Vijayanagar dynasty have been found in Tamilnadu. Some time back forty-four copper coins of Deva Raya were found as treasure trove from Edapirai village, Polur taluk of North Arcot district. In 1972, 140 copper coins of Vijayanagar period belonging to Deva Raya I were found as treasure trove from Abhisekhapuram village, Lalgudi taluk of Tiruchirapalli district. These three treasure trove finds in Tamilnadu throw interesting light on the contact between Vijayanagar empire and Tamilnadu. We may discuss whether these Vijayanagar coins found as treasure trove were in circulation.

The thirty coins of this treasure trove do not belong to one particular ruler of the dynasty. Eleven coins have been assigned to Sri Ranga Raya, four to Sadasiva Raya, six to Thirumala-Raya and two to Deva Raya I. The remaining seven coins may be assigned to Deva Raya I, Sadasiva Raya and Thirumala Raya.

The particulars of thirteen coins are given below :

1. Metal : gold, Dia : 1.1 cm., Wt. : 3.41 gms, shape : round.

   Obv : Viṣhṇu within a dotted circle. Legend in Nagari. (Type XL, Plate XIX)[1] The coin is that of Sri Ranga Raya II.

2. Metal : gold, Dia : 1.0 cm, Wt : 3.41 gms, Shapes round.

   Obv : Umā Maheśvara.
   Rev : Legend in Nagari in three lines :
   Sri Pratapa Deva Raya.

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[1] All references are to *Catalogue of Vijayanagar Coins in A. P. Museume.*

3. Metal : gold, Dia. : 1.1 cm, Wt. : 3.40 gms., Shape : round.

Obv : Lord Venkateśvara within an arch.

Rev : Legend in Nagari—only two lines are seen.

The coin is of Sri Ranga Raya III

4. Metal : gold, Dia : 1.1 cm., Wt. : 3.42 gms., Shape : round.

Obv : Rama, Lakshmana and Sita.

Rev : Legend in Nagari (not clear)

The coin is that of Thirumala Raya.

5. Metal : gold, Dia : 1.1 cms, Wt. : 3.42 gms., Shape : round.

Obv : Vishṇu in the form of Varāha carrying conch and discus.

Rev : Legend in Nagari in three lines.

Sri Ti
ru ma la
ra ya

6. Metal : gold, Dia : 0.9 cm, Wt : 3.4 gms., Shape : round.

Rbv : Umā-Maheśvara

Rev : Legend in Nagari

Sri Prata
pa Sa da śi
va Ra ya

7. Metal : gold, Dia : 1.1 cm., Wt. : 3.4 gm., Shape : round.

Obv : Lakshmi Nārāyaṇa.

Rev : Same as above.

8. Metal : gold, Dia. : 1.1 cm., Wt. : 3.4 gm., Shape : round.

Obv : Lakshmi Narayana,

Rev : Only two lines are seen.

The coins may belong to Sadasiva Raya.

9. Metal : gold, Dia. : 1.1 cm., Wt. : 3.42 gms., Shape : round.

Obv : A seated figure with four hands. In the upper right hand he is holding a *triśula*. Lower left hand touching the knee. Lower right hand hanging.

Rev : Legend in Nagari in three lines.

Notes : (It is difficult to say whether it is Lakshmi Nārāyaṇa or Umā-Maheśvara since the attributes are not clearly seen.

10. Metal : gold, Dia : 1.1 cm., Wt. : 3.4 gms., Shape : round.
    Obv : Standing figure with four hands. In the right upper hand he is carring a *chakra*.
    Rev : Legend not clear.

11. Metal : gold, Dia. : 1.0 cm., Wt. : 3.4 gm., Shape : round.
    Obv : Standing fig. within a dotted circle,
    In the upper right hand he is carrying a *chakra* and in the left upper had a *śankha*.
    Rev : Legend in Nagari in the coins is that of Sri Ranga Raya III Cf. *Op. Cit*., pl. XIX, Fig. 42 of fig. 1.

12. Metal : gold, Dia. : 1.0 cm., Wt. : 3.4 gms., Shape : round.
    Obv : Umā Maheśvara.
    Rev : Legend in Nagari Deva Raya I.

13. Metal : gold, Dia : 01.0 cm, Wt. : 3.39 gm., Shape : round.
    Obv : Lakshminārāyaṇa.
    Rev : Legend in Nagari Deva Raya I.

A NOTE ON THE NEPAL COIN OF SULTAN ALAUD-DUNYA VA DIN KHALJI

MANIK LAL GUPTA

Sri Durga Prasad has published a silver coin[1] struck in Nepal in the time of Sultan Alauddin Khalji (A. D. 1926-1316). This coin was found by Sri Durga Prasad in Varanasi along with another copper coin of Nepal of the Lichchhavi dynasty of the 7th century A. D.

The coin weighs 9.8 gms. It is 31.28 mm. in size.[2] On the obverse the legend in Arabic reads, "*Sikandar us sani Nasirul Amirul Mauminin Yaminul Khilafat.*" A Nepal type lion is also seen in the middle place. On the reverse the Arabic legend read, "*Al Azam Assulatan Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Shah Alaud Dunya va Din.*" A conch is also in the margin and the words *Śrī Śrī* are inscribed in Nagari characters in the middle place.

The coin is round shaped and undated. It does not bear the name of the mint. The coin is interesting in so far as it is the only evidence which alludes to the Delhi Sultan Alauddin Khalji's connection with Nepal. In the contemporary sources there is no mention of the Sultan Alauddin Khalji's conquest of Nepal. Harasimha Deva, the Hindu ruler of Mithilā, the contemporary of Delhi Sultan Alauddin Khalji, conquered Nepal.[3] The title *Śrī Śrī* and the conch are exactly as on the coins of Pṛithvī Narayan Sah Deva and Gurvan Yadha Vikram Sah Deva of Nepal. The winged lion and the Ashṭakoṇa are peculiar to the Nepal coinage.[4]

The discovery of a single coin of the type mentioned above cannot lead us to surmise that 'Alauddin sent an army to the far off country of Nepal and compelled the ruling Raja to acknowledge his suzerainty and strike coin in his name. Nor is there any mention of commercial relations existing between the kingdoms of Delhi and Nepal which may suggest that the coin was used for exchange purposes.[5]

Thus, it may be said that the discovery of such a coin is full of interest indeed. But until some further information is available, not much can be said on this perplexing point. The coin is of great value to scholars interested in Medieval Indian History and Medieval Indian Numismatics.

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1. *JASB*, Numismatic Supplement No. XL, 11, 1929 p. 37-38.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *JASB*, 1903 p. I, 14.
4. *JASB*, 1915, p. 405-433.
5. K. S. Lal '*History of the Khalji's*', p. 366.

A COPPR COINS OF HUSSAIN NIZAM SHAH—I

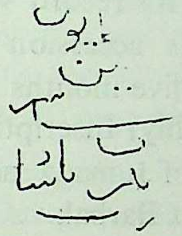
A. H. SIDDIQUI

(Pl. IV. 5)

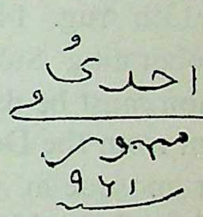
The Nizam Shahi dynasty was one of the five dynasties, which emerged in the Deccan after the disintegration of Bahmani dynasty. Earlier, the copper coins of its five rulers, namely, Burhan I[1], Murtaza I[1], Burhan II[2], Murtaza II[8], and Burhan III[4] were described in the preceding volumes of *JNSI*. In this article I present the copper coin of Hussain Nizam Shah, the third ruler of this dynasty whose coins uptill now were not known. The details of this coin are as follows :

Metal : Copper, Shape : Circular, Size : 1.6 grammes, Wt : 6.5 grammes.

Legend : *Obv.*



Rev.



The obverse of this coin bears the reading as *Hussain Humayun (Asharaf) bin Aurhan Budshah, Zarb Nagar*, meaning Hussain Humayun son of Burhan, the king, struck (the coin) at Nagar.

The reverse contains the usual formula found on coins of Nizam Shahi rulers, i. e., Fi Shaber San or in the month of the year and gives date both in Arabic as well as numerals as A. H. 961 (A. D. 1561). The assumption of the title Humayun Ashraf is noteworthy. It is pertinent to mention in this regard that Ahmad Nizam-ul-Mulk, the first ruler of this dynasty, and his father Hasan Nizam-ul-Mulk were conferred with the title of Mujlis-e-Humayun Ashraf or The Assembly of Auspicious privilege by the Bahmani rulers. Hence we find that Hussain Nizam Shah I had borne the same title on the coins.

With the discovery of this coin now six coins of Nizam Shahi rulers are known to us.

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1. *N S.*, VII (48), p. 51 & Num. Digest, Vol. IV (under print).
2. *JASB*, LXV, Pt. I, 1896; NS, VII (48), p. 51.
3. *JNSI*, XXVIII, Pt. 1, Miscl. 23, pp. 84-86 (1966); Ibid, XXXVI, pp. 142-43. (1974).
4. *Ibid*, XXVI, Pt. II, Miscl. 15, pp. 262-67 (1964).

A FRESH NOTE ON THE RECENTLY DISCOVERD SILVER COIN OF SULTAN HUSAIN SHAH OF BENGAL

A. M. K. MASUMI

Sultan Alauddin Husain Shah of Bengal reigned, as it is generally held, from the year 899 A. H./1494 A. D. to the third decade of the 10th century Hijra. The actual dates denoting the beginning and the end of his reign are historically unrecorded. However, the above cited date was taken from his coins and specially the Malda Inscription which records the erection of a mosque during his regin by Majlis Rahat on the 10th Zulqada 899 A. H./13th Aug. 1494 A. D. This record was taken to be the earliest date corroborating Sultan Husain's accession to the throne. But now his accession must be dated at least five months earlier than the above, as it is evident from the Depara (Hooghly) Inscription indicating the erection of another mosque in the month of Jumada al-Akhira 899 A. H./March-April 1494 A. D. by Majlisul Majalis Barbak.[1]

Like the beginning, no certain record documenting the last date of Sultan's reign is traceable. His coins and inscriptions discovered from time to time are the only evidence for the end of his reign. As the last date contained in the collection of his coins and inscriptions does not come down later than 925 A. H./1518 A. D. the same has been considered to signify the end of his reign. Very recently, a silver coin of Husain Shah with the date 931 A. H./1524 A. D. has been discovered by Mr. G. S. Farid and brought to the notice of the scholars.[2]

In the light of this new find, it is apparent that Sultan Husain Shah ruled over Bengal upto 931 A. H. and breathed his last during the same year or soon after but not prior to this particular date.

Notwithstanding this single coin furnishes some new and essential materials for the reconstruction of biodata of Husain Shah but it can not be considered final, at any rate.

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1. *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic-Persian Supplement*, 1965, pp. 24-25.
2. *Bulletin of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta, vol. IV, no. 8, 1975, pp. 6.7.

The learned discoverer makes his study based on the following assumption :—

"In the absence of any inscription of Husain Shah having a date after 925 A. H., it has been held that the death of Husain Shah and the accession of Nasiruddin Nusrat Shah occured in the same year."

But in spite of this new discovery it will be rather a hasty conclusion if 931 A. H. is taken to be a definite date marking the end of Sultan Husain Shah's reign. The mere absence of any inscription of Husain Shah after 925 A. H. was hardly taken into account by historians like H. Blochmann and others, to be sufficient proof for the actual date of the former's death and the accession of the latter. Most probably it was never done so until and unless they found several coins and inscriptions indicating Nasiruddin Nusrat Shah as a full-fledged ruler of Bengal since 925 A. H. or soon after. The existence of certain inscriptions of Nusrat Shah which confirm his accession to the throne during the twenties of 10th century Hijra must not be ignored. In this connection, we may refer to the following :—

(i) The inscription dated 926 A. H./1520 A. D. found near the Dakhil Darwaza or Salami Darwaza, Malda.[1]

(ii) The inscription dated 929 A. H./1523 A. D. found by Munshi Rahman Ali Tarsh in possession of the Mutawalli of the tomb of Ibrahim Danishmand and some of his family members at Sunargaon. It denotes the construction of a mosque with a well (Bait-us-Saqayah) by the chief of amirs and viziers, the leader of the theologians and traditionists Taqiddin son of Aynuddin known as Mubarak Mulla son of Majlis-e-Mukhtar son of Majlis-e-Suroor, during the reign of Sultan Nusrat Shah in the year 929 A. H.[2]

According to the statement of Mushi Taysh who obtained his information from some local persons, Ibrahim Danishmand came to Bengal during the reign of Sultan Fateh Shah and settled down at Mugrapara known as Sahib Badi at Sunargaon.[3]

The same inscription, according to B. Blochmann was found by General Cunningham on a mound near Sadipur, Sunargaon. However, the reading of Blochmann specially that of the concluding lines somehow differs from the reading of Munshi Taysh and runs in both Arabic and English versions as follows :—

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[1] *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua*, Calcutta, 1931, p. 51.

[2] *Tawarikh-e-Dacca*, Arrah, 1910, pp. 284-286.

[3] *Cf*, *Ibid*, pp. 179-180.

"........Taqiuddin son of Aynuddin known as Bar Malikul Majlis son of Mukhtarul-Majlis son of Sarwar...."[1] Obviously the reading of Munshi Taysh appears to be more established and correct.

(iii) The inscription dated 930 A. H./1524 A. D. found by E. V. Wastmacott at Molnatuli near Old Malda.[2]

(iv) A different inscription dated 930 A. H./1524 A. D. from Mangalkot which record the erection of a grand mosque by Mian Muazzam bin Murad Hayder Khan.[3]

(v) The right hand inscription on the enclosure wall of the tomb of Akhi Sirajuddin Usman, at Gaur dated 931 A. H./1525 A. D.[4]

Besides the these following two silver coins of Nusrat Shah deserve mention :—

(i) A silver coin dated 922 A. H./1516 A. D. struck in the Sundarbun mint town of Khalifatabad (Bangladesh).[5]

(ii) A silver coin dated 927 A, H./1521 A. D. without the name of the mint.[6]

All these sporadic finds in the shape of coins and inscriptions cover the period from 926 to 931 excluding the year 928, as no slab or coin relating to that year has been discovered uptil now. The inscription no. I describing Nusrat Shah as "The Sultan of time and period, celebrated for justice and benevolence. The Sultan son of Sultan," and likewise the insignia ascribed to him in the rest are as "The exalted and liberal Sultan, the Sultan son of Sultan."

In view of these epigraphic evidences, collectively as well as separately, it appears indisputably that Nusrat shah continued to rule since the year 926 A. H. or a little earlier as an acknowledged monarch of Bengal throughout till the year 931 A. H. and later on.

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[1] *JASB*, vol. *XLI* (I), Calcutta, 1872, pp. 337-338.
[2] Blochmann. *JASB*, XLIII (I) Calcutta, 1874, p. 307 (no. 16.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 296 (no. 32).
[4] *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua*, p. 91.
[5] Blochmann, *op cit*. vol. *XLII* (i), p. 297).
[6] *Ibid.*

Consequently the single coin of Husain Shah dated 931 A. H despite its obvious value is seriously contradicted by all the epigraphic evidences noted above.

Moreover, the date on this coin is in figures and not in words. It may be observed that a 'zero' in between the two figures in Arabic or Persian character requires a very small space and it may also disappear quite essily due to antiquity and other reasons. Therefore, if the date on this coin is suggested to be read 903 it would not be unjustified, specially when there appears sufficient space between the digits 9 and 3. The letter 'alif' of 'khazanah' exists clearly in its proper place just by the side of the letter 'z'. It is not efaced or omitted as the discoverer claims it to be. So he erroneously interprets it to be the first digit and reads 931. Even if his reading is accepted as correct, the reign of Husain Shah may be extended up to the year 931 But this does not necessarily follow that the reign of Nusrat Shah began after 930-31,

Under the circumstances one cannot agree with the diseoverer's view point when he claims :—

"In other words, the duration of Husain Shaha's reign has been extended to another six years, whereas that of Nasiruddin Nusrat Shah has been shortened by six years, and may now be fixed as being from 931 A.H./1524 A.D. to 938 A.H./1531 A.D."

In fact the contradiction between the earlier epigraphic discoveries and this new one would be avoided only when this theory is accepted that the last few years of Sultan Husain Shah or early years of the reign of his son Nusrat Shah were the period of dual rule in Bengal. With a slight modification the same view has been held by H. Blochmann in his study entitled 'Contribution to the Geography and History of Bengal' wherein noticing the different coinage of Nusrat Shah, he rightly observes :—

"They either indicate an extraordinary delegation of power or point to a successful rebellion."[1]

It is the only way to neutralise the mass of contradiction from the different epigraphic evicences mentioned above and observed by H. Blochmann. It cannot be simply brushed aside as irrelevant even after the discovery of the single coin bearing the date of 931 A.H.

I have just now come across a fresh article published by the learned discoverer. This impressed me to a great extent but my humble opinion is that the views expressed by me in the present note stand as they are.

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[1] *JASB*, XLII (I), p. 297.

TWO NOTABLE COINS OF HAIDAR ALI AND TIPPU SULTAN

A. H. SIDDIQUI

(Pl. IV, 6-7)

(1) A Copper coin of Haider Ali of Satara mint

Metal : copper. Size : 1.15 cm. Wt : 2.218 grammes. Shape : circular.

Legend:	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
	Elephant facing right with trunk hanging down. Above date partly visible as 86 or 89.	۶۶ ب ضر ستاره

This coin bears on the obverse an elephant along with the date partially discernable as –86 or –89 and it corresponds to A. H. 1186/A. D. 1774 or AH 1189/A.D. 1776. The reverse of the coin has the mint name distinctly inscribed as Satara and above the letter ب *be* of Zarb the figure 66 occurs which stands for the word Allah according to the numerical value reckoned by Abjad system. The presence of elephant and date on the coin gives rise to presumption that this coin may pertain to Haidar Ali. But the mint-name Satara is highly surprising, because of the fact that Satara was the seat of Maratha Head of State, Chhatrapati Shahu and his successor Rama Raja. It is highly intriguing and baffling to find that Haidar Ali, who was a ruler of Karnataka had struck coins from Satara, the capital of Chhatrapatis. In order to throw light on this enigmatic problem, let us review the historical events of eighteenth century.

According to known histories, Haidar Ali enthroned himself as the ruler of Mysore in the year A. H. 1174/A. D. 1761.[1] He annexed Bednur (Nagar), Chetaldurg and Sira in the year A. H. 1176/A. D. 1763[2]. He established his hold upon the Nawabs of Savanur, Kurnool and Kadapah[3], who were earlier subjugated by the Marathas. He also seized the territory of Murar Rao Ghorpade.[4] The Peshwa Madava Rao I made three campaigns on Karnataka. In the first campaign in the year A. H. 1177/A.D. 1764, Dharwad was recovered from Haidar's commandant Fazal Ali Khan and Haidar's army was routed at Jadi Anwati near Savanur.[1] Due to the intrigues of Raghunath Rao, the uncle of Peshwa, the treaty of Anantpur was concluded by which Haidar Ali had to cede territory to the north of the river Tungabhadra.[2] In the year A.H. 1180/A.D. 1767 Peshwa Madhava Rao started his second campaign against Haidar Ali and this time he was assisted by Nizam Ali Khan, Asif Jah II and captured most of Mysore territory except Srirangapattam and Bednur. As Raghunath Rao again started trouble at Poona, the Peshwa was obliged to conclude a treaty accepting Haider Ali's terms.[3] Later on, Haider Ali recovered some of the lost terriory when the Peshwa was engaged in wars with his uncle Raghunath Rao and Janoji Bhosle.[4] Again in the year A. H. 1183/A. D. 1770 Peshwa Madhwa Rao started the third campaign with a lightening attack upto Srirangapattam but Peshwa's brother Narayana Rao was wounded in the battle for the capture of fort Nijgal and Peshwa himself had to return due to ailment. However, his commender Trimbak Rao Pithe inflicted a crushing defeat on Haider Ali in the battle of Moti Talav near Srirangapattam and by treaty of Srirangapattam Haidar Ali agreed to surrender a large part of territory south of the Tungabhadra.[5] The demise of the Peshwa Madhava Rao I[6] in the year A. D. 1772 led to the succession of his brother Narayana Rao at Poona but he was murdered within a year.[7]

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[1] H. V. Sreenivasa Murthy and R. Ramakrishnan, '*A History of Karnataka*', p. 266.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 267.

[3] G. S. Sardesai : *New History of Marathas*, Vol, II, p. 486.

This was followed by succession of Raghunath Rao as Peshwa.[8] However, the inquiry of Justice Ram Shastri revealed that the murder of Narayan Rao was due to the connivance of Raghunath Rao and in the year A. D. 1774 a proclamation was made in the name of Chhatrapati that because of this sinful act Raghunath Rao was being deprived of Pesh-

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1. *G. S. Serdesal, op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 487-488.
2. *Ibtd*, Vol. II, pp. 489-490.
3. *Ibid*, Vol. II, pp. 532-533.
4. *Ibid*, Vol. II, pp. 533.
5. *Ibid*, Vol. II, pp. 534-535.
6. *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 534.
7. *Ibtd*, Vol. III, pp. 26-27.
8. *Ibtd*, Vol. III, p. 30.

waship.[1] The Council of Twelve Maratha Chiefs called Bar Bhais also took decision of non-recognition of Raghunath Rao. Mahadji Sindia and Tukoji Holkar tried to bring about reconciliation between Raghunath Rao and the ministers at Poona but Raghunath Rao being apprehensive that he may be made prisoner fled to Baroda where Govind Rao Gaikwad sheltered him,[2] but Haripant Phadke routed his army at Wasad.[3] So he took refuge with the English and executed the treaty of Surat to gain assistance from the British.[4] Raghunath Rao in desperation established contact with neighbouring states, such as the Rajputs, the Muslim dignatories of north, the Kolis of Khandesh, the Siddhis, the Portuguese, Haidar Ali, Muhammad Ali and Nizam Ali Khan Asif Jah II asking them to rise against Maratha Government and showed this hostile attitude caring little for the honour or the good of the State.[5] Meanwhile posthumous son, Madhava Rao II was born to Ganga Bai, the widow of Narayan Rao Peshwa and by the proclamation of Chhatrapati of 28th May, 1774, he was made Peshwa at Purandar.[6] At this opportune time of civil war in Maratha State, Haidar Ali, on the advice of his ambassador at Poona, Appaji Ram, wrought tremendous havoc on the Maratha State not only recapturing the territory, which Madhava Rao I had wrested from him but also destroying the power of Patwardhans at Sanshi near Dharwad, anhiliating Murar Rao Ghorpade at Gutti and Nawab of Savanur, the vassal king of Marathas. In April 1774 he reduced Sira, Balapur, Mudgiri, Hubli and Dharwad.[7] At that time Jiji Bai, the widow of Sambaji II was conducting administration of Kolhapur in the name of her adopted son Śivaji IV (1762-1812), the Chhatrapati of Kolhapur. But the Rani died on 17th Feb. 1773 and her brother Yesaji Shinde conducted the affairs of Kolhapur. He took full advantage of the civil war in the Peshwa's house and made common cause with Haidar Ali.[8] During the year A. D. 1775 the Maratha armies were engaged in Gujarat against Raghunath Rao and then in the first Anglo-Maratha war,

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1. *G. S. Sardesal, op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 41.
2. *Idid*, Vol. III, p. 49.
3. *Ibid*, Vol. III, p. 49.
4. *Ibid*, Vol. III, p. 50.
5. *Ibid*, Vol. III, p. 45.
6. *Ibid*, Vol. III, p. 46.
7. *Ibid*, Vol. III, pp. 130-131.
8. *Ibid*, Vol. III, p. 129.

Bhagwant Rao Pratinidhi devasted the district of Satara.[1] Because of this internal strife in the succession of Peshwas and in order to espouse the case of Raghunath Rao (whom Haidar Ali recognised as rightful Peshwa by secret pact called The Treaty of Kalyan Durg[2]) and with the assistance from Yesaji, administrator of Chhatrapati of Kolhapur, Haidar Ali attacked Statara, and the present coin shows that he captured Statara and struck coins. Subsequently, in the year 1777, Mahadji Sindhia marched against Kolahpur and inflicted a severe defeat to Yesaji Shinde and concluded the treaty of Kolahpur on 23rd April, 1778.[3] But the Maratha armies under Haripant Phadke and Parashuram Bhan could not recover the entire Maratha territory as they were recalled to quell the rebellion of Moraha Phadnis and to meet the English advance on Poona. However, in the year A. D. 1778/A. H. 1191-92 Haidar Ali joined the Anti-British Confederacy[4] organised by Nana Phadnis, and so he concluded peace with Marathas and gave back the territory above the river Krishna to them. Hence, this is a unique and unreported coin of Haidar Ali.

2. The copper coins of Tippu Sultan in the name of Mughal Emperor Shah Alam-II

The coins of Tippu Sultan occupy a unique position in the numismatic history of India. These coins contain the figure of animal, elephant on the obverse following the South Indian tradition and mention the mint name on the reverse of the coin. This style of coinage was quite contrary to the coinage of other rulers of India at that time who had adopted the time-honoured method of issuing coins in the name of reigning Mughal emperor and keeping the initial letter of their names as distinctive marks. Henderson, observes; 'It is noteworthy that the name of the ruling Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam-II to whom Tippu at least owed allegiance is conspicuous by its absence and it is said that on offering of the coins which he injudiciously made, evoked great resentment from the emperor on account of this omission.[5]

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[1] G. S. Sardesai, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 128.

[2] *Ibid*, Vol. III, p. 129.

[3] *Ibid*, Vol. III, p. 129.

[4] *Ibid*, Vol, III, p. 129.

[5] J. R. Henderson : *The Coins of Haidar Ali and Tippu Sultan*, p. 9.

In this article I present two coins of my collection wherein Tippu Sultan has struck coins in the name of the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam-II. The details of the coins are as follows :

Metal : Copper, Size : 1.1 Cm, Wt : 2.085 and 2.0056 grammes, Shape : Circular.

Legend :	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
	Elephant facing right with trunk hanging down and tail upraised. Above the date 1217 in reverse order.	[شاه] عالم بادشاه

The figure of the elephant and the date inscribed in reverse order clearly indicates that this is a coin of Tippu Sultan, which was struck in the name of the Mughal emperor, Shah Alam-II. After his accession Tippu Sultan annexed many areas of Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and north Sircar, where the coins in the name of Mughal rulers were in circulation. In the fifth regnal year he extended his sway on a vast area of South India. So he seems to have struck these coins retaining the distinctive characteristic of elephant and date on the obverse and the name of the Mughal ruler Shah Alam Badshah on the reverse and allayed the displeasure of the Mughal emperor.

A NEW RAMA TANKA

A. L. YADAVA

(Pl. IV. 9)

I am reproducing a new Rāma ṭankā which I bought at the Dashashwamedha Ghat of Varanasi. Recently this type has been reported for the first time by Mr. Irwin F. Brotman. To the best of my knowledge, I am the second person to posses this type of ṭankā. Much about such ṭankas or temple tokens have been discussed in various journals including mainly the *Journal of the Numismatic Socity of India*. That is why I am not going in much details about the importance of such tokens.

The details of token are as follows :—

Metal : Silver
Size : 2.7 cms.
Weight : 11.6024 gms.
Shape : Round
Thickness : 0.3 cms.

Obverse :

Rama and Lakshamana standing with a plant having flowers in in between them. Both of them having bows in their left hands. Rama has got a trident spear in his right hand. Both of them are wearing crowns and are clad in dhoti with right upper garments. Legend in Nāgarī from 7.0' clock to 4.0' clock is '*Rāma lachhamanajanaka ja-bala-hanamanaka*' (Rāmalachhamanajānakī jai bolo hanumānakī).

Reverse :

Rāma with Śita to his right on the throne. An attendent perhaps, Śatrughna having a umbrella at left and another attendant, perhaps Hanumāna to the right with folded hands. A figure which is clear in the Brotman's catalogue is lying below the throwne is not clear in our specimen. There is a star in the upper left field.

I. *Brotman*, I. F., *A Guide to the Temple Tokens of India*, California U. S. A., 1970, p. 42, Type AC No. 5.

MEANING OF THE SYMBOLS ON EARLY INDIAN COINAGE

BHASKAR CHATTERJEE

The coins-symbols in common use till the early centuries of the Christian era include animal-figures, tree-in-railing, solar and lunar symbols, mountain, river, taurine, *nandipada* *triratna* or *triśula*, *swastika*, double triangle, Caduceus, bow and arrow, "Taxila mark" (equal armed cross, tipped with four circles enclosing dots), "Troy mark" (three *chhatras* or arrow heads interspaced with ovals about a central circle), pile of balls and even human figures.[1] Attempts have been made to explain the coin symbols from Buddhistic, Tantric and Brahmanical points of view.[2] Of course, no scholar is known to have yet attempted to furnish a Jaina interpretation of the symbols in question.[3] It would be reasonable to assume that all religious sects drew upon a common storehouse of symbols and conventional devices.[4] The existence of common storehouse of symbols may be traced in the gradual evolution of religious beliefs from the stage of savegery through the age of barbarism to that of civilization.

The seals of the Chalcolithic age which ushered in the age of human civilization often depict symbols and designs of various character. The symbols of the seals on Mohenjadaro and Harappa include a crocodile, a humped-bull, an elephant, an animal figure before a tree-in railing, a "fish-sign", a collection of human figures, a thunderbolt or an axe, a taurine, squares, circles, birds, plants, a cross, a *swastika* and a granary with standing arrow-heated staff by its side. These pre-historic pictograms or symbols may be traced in various devices and designs used on the punch-marked coins.[5] It may lead us to assume the survival of some elements of the Chalcolithic culture through the symbols used on early indigenous coinage.

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[1] A. K. Coomaraswami, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, New York, 1965, p. 45.

[2] J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta University, 1956, p. 108, fn. 1 and p. 109 ff.

[3] [For a Jain opinion on some of these symbols and its refutal, see an article by M. N. P. Tiwari and C. D. Singh in *JNSI*, Vol. XLIII, Pt I pp. 81-87; T. P. V.]

[4] V. A. Smith, *The Jaina Stupa and other Antiquities of Mathura*, p. 6.

[5] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1935, p. 307 ff; *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1934.*Numis. Suppl.*, Plates 28-30.

The symbols, once devised to give expression to particular religious beliefs, continued to be so used. The trident or the *triśula*-symbol, which is known to have played a magnificant role in Indian iconography, may be traced in the trident-symbol on the head of the "Lord of beasts" depicted on a seal of Mohenjodaro.[1] The solar symbol which occupies the most prominent position among the symbols on the punch-marked coins may be traced on a pottery of the Neolithic age discovered from Piklihal.[2] Further the rock paintings at Singanpur (Raigarh area) and Sitakhardi (Chambal Valley) depicts the solar symbols. Arguments have been put forward by scholars to assign to rock paintings to the primitive age.[3]

It seems that the animistic consciousness of the primitive mind played a significant role in evolving the symbols that represented the objects of nature, the flora and the fauna. Most of the art remains of the Palaeolithic age, so far discovered in the countries of southern Europe and of Africa, are found in the cave paintings, often depicting animals in a hunting scene. The animal-figures, no doubt, represent to temistic animal-cults and hunting magic. At the Neolithic stage, the adoption of farming life naturally roused in man a new interest in the sun, the water, the earth and its vegitations.[4] The excavations at Mohenjodaro and Harappa brought to light the remains of the Chalcolithic culture in which recognition was given to Mother-goddess and Father-god, but the continuity of the primitive tradition is to be found in the worship of the tree, the animals and the water.[5]

Art remains of the Palaeolithic and Neolithic ages, being few and far between in India, we may have to adopt an anthropological approach to trace the primitive religious beliefs. The survival of the Austric and

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[1] J. Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. I, p. XII, Fig. 17.

[2] F. R. Allchin, *Piktlihal Excavations*, pp. 26-77.

[3] D. H. Gordon, *The Pre-historic Background of Indian Culture*, Bombay, 1960, pp. 98-117.

[4] Hawkes and Woolley (Ed.), *Pre-history and the Beginnings of Civilization, History of Mankind*, Vol. I, UNESCO, 1963, p. 335.

[5] Marshall, *Op. cit.*, pp. 48-78.

Dravidian cultures may be traced in the religious beliefs and practices of the aboriginal tribes. The Santhals, who belong to the Austric stock believe that the natural phenomenon and the animals are imbued with the spirit called "Bongā". Again, the Oraons who belong to the Dravidian group similarly call the spirit behind all natural objects "Nad". This animistic belief is also held by other aboriginal tribes in India.[1]

The presiding deity of the Santhals is the "Great Mountain", although the Sun *(Siñbongā)* represents the highest spirit. They worship spirits of every sort and regard beasts as divine. The Oraons also recognise a supreme god in the sun. It is significant to note that almost all the aboriginal tribes worship sankes and trees[2]. We find out thus a remarkable unity between primitive and civilised religions[3]. Inspite of the fact that the primitive tribe deify various natural phenomena, they seldom make use of images representing their deities. The aniconic tradition along with animistic belief seems to have inspired the primitive people in the past ages to evolve the symbols of their religious beliefs.

The truth regarding the continuity of the aniconic tradition among a large section of the Indians even after the acceptance of iconism is quite evident.[4] The practice of symbol-worship seems to have continued till the growth of the Bhakti movement to such a mature stage as to give rise to different cults for which images of deities were essential. The symbols on early Indian coinage seem to have been handed down from the pre-historic to historic age and their use was continued till they were associated with and sometime replaced by the anthropomorphic representation of the divinities. In the historic age, use of the symbols was liberally made by different religious sects, as if they drew upon a common store-house of symbols and conventional devices.

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1. *The Cultural Heritage of India,* Vol. IV, Calcutta, 1969, pp. 421-432.
2. E. W. Hopkins, *The Religions of India,* Delhi, 1970, pp. 530-533.
3. J. Ferguson, *Tree Serpent Worship,* Plates and Figures.
4. J. N. Banerjea, *Op. cit.*, p. 108.

A NOTE ON THE SUNGA-MITRA RULERS

K. D. BAJPAI

In a paper of mine entitled 'Fresh Light on the post-Aśokan History of Kauśāmbī'[1], I dealtwith the history of the Śuṅga dynasty beginning from Pushyamitra. It was surmised by me that after the death of Pushyamitra, or during his last days, the Śuṅga empire was divided (among his sons) into several independent kingdoms, which were : Magadha, Vatsa (including some-time major parts of south-western Magadha and parts of the southern Āṭavika territory), Daśārṇa, Kośala, north Panchāla and Śūrasena. These kingdoms were related among themselves, as is borne out by the inscriptional evidence, particularly in the cases of Vatsa (Kauśāmbī), Śūrasena (Mathurā) and Pāñcāla (Ahicchatra).

Agnimitra, the eldest son of Pushyamitra Śuṅga, made Vidiśā his headquarter. For obvious reasons, it was necessary to do so. As Vidiśa was almost centrally located in the Śuṅga kingdom, it became the seat of the chief Śuṅga line. According to the Purāṇic lists, Agnimitra and his successors ruled for a total period of about 76 years.

Three important rulers of the main Śuṅga branch having *mitra*-ending names are Pushyamitra, his son Agnimitra and his son Vasumitra. Other *mitra* names of Vidiśā royal house are Vajramitra, Revatimitra and Veṇimitra. The last two names are known from the Bharhut inscriptions.

Quite a large number of rulers of the other houses, mentioned above, bear *mitra* ending names. Most of them are known from coins and only a few from inscriptions. No less than 25 kings of the Kauśāmbī-house are known to have born *mitra* names. At least 12 rulers of the Pañchāla house, 6 of the Mathurā-house and 5 of the local rulers of Ayodhyā bear *mitra* names. The reign-period of these local dynasties falls between c. 150 B. C. and 300 A. D.

Due to the above mentioned facts, K. P. Jayaswal had earlier thought that the Mitra rulers of Kauśāmbī, Mathurā and Pañchāla belonged to the Śuṅga dynasty.[2]

I would like to say a few words here about the name of Pushyamitra's dynasty. In a thought-provoking paper entitiled 'The dynastic name of the kings of the Pushyamitra family'[3] its author J. C. Ghosh dis-

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1. *JNSI*, Vol, XXVI, pp. 1-6; see also Bajpai, *Indian Numismatic Studies* (New Delhi, 1976), pp. 37-43.
2. *JBORS* Vol. XX, pp. 7-9, 291-306; see also K. P. Jayaswal, *JBORS*, XIV, pp. 24-25; H. K. Prasad, *JNSI*, XVII, p. 24-36 and H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, *PHAI*, pp. 326-7.
3. Published in *JBORS*, Vol. XXIII (pt. 3), pp. 353-64.

cussed the different views of scholars about Pushyamitra's family name. He referred to the *Baudhāyana Sūtra* (III, p. 451), wherein a *gotra* named *Śaṅkamitreya* occurs. '*Śaṅkha*', according to Ghosh, may be a corruption of Śauṅga or Śuṅga. He seems to be right in concluding that "in all probability the *gotra* of Pushyamitra was Śauṅgamitreya....which might have been shortened into Śauṅga or Śuṅga in the Purāṇas."[1]

The Śuṅgamitras occupied an important political position in major part of northern India right from the time of Pushyamitra to almost the rise of the Guptas. The numismatic and epigraphic evidence corroborate this.[2] Samudragupta defeated his contemporary rulers of Kauśāmbī and Vidiśā and those of the entire region from Vidiśā to Pañchāl in the north and further east upto Kośala. Major parts of these conquered lands were previously ruled over by the Śuṅga-Mitras. Unfortunately Harisheṇa, the composer of Prayāga-Praśasti of Samudragupta, has not mentioned the names of the dynasties nor of the kingdoms of the rulers defeated by Samudragupta in Āryāvarta. Otherwise more definite information about the varquished rulers would have been available to us.

The Śṅga-Mitras, after their defeat at the hands of Samudragupta, could not be wiped out as political power. They seem to have combined themselves as 'Pushyamitras' after the name of the illustrious originator of the Śuṅga dynasty. They gradually tried to regain their old prestige. When the Gupta power came to be at a low level during the last days of Kumāragupta I, the Pushyamitras emerged as a force. They even tried to come into open conflict with the Guptas. The Bhitari pillar inscription of Skandagupta clearly indicates that before the time of the major conflict with the Guptas, the Pushyamitras had regained sufficient power in the armed forces and treasury.[3] From the Bhitari inscription it can be gathered that by about the middle of the 5th century A. D. the Pushyamitras had again grown up into a formidable power. But they could not eventually succeed against the Gupta forces. After their defeat by Skandagupta, the Pushyamitras seem to have been relegated into the background. After that, we do not hear about them as a power to reckon with.

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1. *Idid*, p. 363-64.
2. A large number of Mitra coins are already known. One of the rulers, called *Śuṅgavarmā* is knoure from a coin obtained from Kauśāsnbı. The legend on the coin is '*Sugavamasa* (of Śuṅgavarmā). His period is about the middle of 2nd cent. B. C. See *JNSI*, Vol XXXVII, pp. 188-90.
3. *Śamudita-bala-Kośān Pushyamitrāṁścha jitvā* Fleet, *CII*, Vol III, pp. 53.

THE RAMAGUPTA PROBLEM

D. K. GANGULY

The different theories about the identification of prince Rāmagupta, first brought to light by a few extracts from Viśākhadatta's[1] lost historical drama, *Devī-Chandraguptam* quoted in *Nāṭya-darpaṇa* by Rāmachandra and Guṇachandra, and *Śṛiṅgāra-prakāśa* by king Bhoja of Dhārā. The literary, epigraphic and numismatic evidences used for them and the arguments advanced in their support are too well known to be mentioned here.

D. C. Sircar[2] does not believe in the historicity of the Rāmagupta legend, for according to him, the custom of marrying the elder brother's wife by a junior brother of the deceased husband was not prevalent in the fourth century A. D. when Chandragupta II ruled. Viśākhadatta might have been influenced, as D. C. Sircar would have us believe, by such evidences as Sīta's suspicion about Lakshmaṇa's intention to marry her in case of Rāma's death, Sugrīva's marriage with his brother Bāli's widow Tārā and Vibhīshaṇa's marriage with his brother Rāvaṇa's widow Mandodarī.

To suppose that Chandragupta II married his widowed sister-in-law Dhruvadevī does not, however, appear to be absured proposition. The remarriage of the widow with her brother-in-law is mentioned in the *Ṛigveda*[3] and *Athervaveda*,[4] and Chandragupta II in his marriage with Dhruvadevī might have owed his inspiration to the Vedic source, the authenticity of which was irrevocable. The repeated mention of the statement that 'a woman, in the absence of the husband, accepts her brother-in-law as her husband' in the didactic parts of the *Mahābhārata*[5] would allude to the prevalence of the *devara*-marriage at the time of the final compilation of the Great Epic. Yājñavalkya[1], who appears to have flourished in the Gupta age, refers to the *Punarbhūs* and their sons, *Paunarbhavas.* The *Punarbhūs*, likewise, find mention by a *Dharmaśāstra* writer Nārada who has categorised them into the three following groups :

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[1] Sten Konow, K. P. Jayaswal and N. N. Das Gupta (*IC*, IV), are of opinion that Viśākhadatta was a contemporary of Chandragupta II but Levi placed him in the post-Gupta but pre-Harsha age. It is held by some that Viśākhadatta cannot be earlier than the ninth century A. D. (*EHNI*, p. 200).

[2] *JAIH*, III, pp. 148-49.

[3] X, 18, 8; X, 40, 2.

[4] XVIII, 3, 2.

[5] XII, 73, 12; XIII, 8, 22.

(i) those whose hands were taken in marriage but whose marriage was not consumated;

(ii) those, who first deserted their husbands, betook themselves to other men and subsequently returned to the houses of their husbands; and,

(iii) those who were given by their husband's relatives to the *sapiṇḍas* of the deceased husbands or to persons of the same castes, in the absence of brother-in-laws.

A positive reference to the *devara* marriage is further made by Nārada[2] when he states that the woman who, following the death of her husband discards the brother-in-law or other relatives but unites herself with a stranger through lust, belongs to the second type of wanton women *(Mṛite bhartari sam-prāptān devar = ādīn = apāsya yā|up = āgachchhet param kāmāt sā dvitīyā prakīrttitā||)*. The question of *niyoga* does not arise here, for, the woman whom Nārada speaks of, is not described as *niyukta* or appointed by the husband or elders for the purpose of raising an issue. Mention may also be made, in this connection, of a verse, to be found in the works of Nārada[3] and Parāśara,[4] allowing the remarriage of women in such five calamities as when the husband is lost or dead, has become a religious ascetic, is impotent or fallen *(Nāshṭe mṛite pravrajite klīve cha patite patau|Pañchasy = āpatsu nārīṇāṁ patir = anye vidhīyate||)*. With the death of Rāmagupta were removed all the obstacles that might have stood in the way of Chandragupta II's marriage with his sister-in-law Dhruvadevī. It is worth remembering that the practice of the younger brother-in-law, marrying the widow of the elder brother, persists among some castes to this day.

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[1] Jolly thinks that the work of Yājñavalkya was composed around A. D. 600. Kane controverts the view and places the same between B. C. 100 and A. D. 300. S. Chattopadhyaya (*SLAI*, p. 3) places the work in the early days of the Gupta rule which witnessed a strong revival of the Brahmanical culture.

[2] XII, 52.

[3] XII, 97.

[4] IV, 30. The world *pati* in the first *pāda* of the verse is some time read as *a—patau* in the sense of *alpa-pati* or betrothed husband.

Jai Prakash[1] identifies Chandragupta of the Rāmagupta legend with Samudragupta, Dhruvadevī with Dattadevī, and Rāmagupta with Kācha, who was either an actual brother or a close relative of Samudragupta. The arguments, he advanced, are as follows :

1. The benevolence and charity of Samudragupta are emphasised in his records as well as in the records of his successors and the Vākāṭakas, but Chandragupta II is never applauded for his munificence in the inscriptions of his family or in those of the Vākāṭakas.

2. The Eran inscription states that Samudragupta paid off the bride-price of Dattadevī in the form of valour, thus implying that the role of Dhruvadevī of the Rāmagupta legend was, in fact, played by Samudragupta's chief queen Dattadevī, who is significantly described as a devoted and chaste *kula-vadhu*.

3. Chandragupta II's victory over the Śakas was achieved between c. A. D. 388 and c. A. D. 409 when he was too old to get married.

4. Chandragupta II was old enough to disguise himself as a beautiful and young queen, for, at the time of his accession in c. A. D. 375 he was at least forty years old.

5. Dhruvadevī, the chief queen of Chandragupta II, was married to the Gupta monarch long before A. D. 355 when Prabhāvatīguptā was born from Kuveranāgā.

6. Chandragupta II, who was nominated for the Gupta throne by his father, assumed power unchallenged, but Samudragupta's accession to the throne was opposed by many rivals of equal birth *(tulya-kulajāḥ)*.

7. The titles *Parākramaḥ* and *Vikramaḥ* were assumed on their coins by Samudragupta and Chandragupta II respectively, and since these are near synonyms, the later generations might have identified the two kings, signified by these two titles.

8. Samudragupta adopted the title of *Vikramaḥ* or *Vikramāditya* towards the fag-end of his reign and the assumption of the same title by him and his son gave rise to the confusion of the identity of the two kings.

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[1] *JNSI*, XXVIII, pt. 2, pp. 157 ff.

Jai Prakash,[1] accordingly, concludes, 'Hence the later legends connected with the name of Rāmagupta and Chandragupta, possibly rose from a confusion between Samudragupta and Chandragupta. The former of these, i. e., Samudragupta was possibly the main and original personality involved in the original historical event, dramatised later'.

A close and critical study of the Gupta and Vākāṭaka inscriptions would, however, reveal that the arguments advanced by Jai Prakash, are far from being conclusive.

1. Samudragupta's philanthropic activities are mentioned only in the Allahabad pillar inscription, and not in any other Gupta or Vākāṭaka record. The reference to Samudragupta's generosity in his own record, which is a royal *praśasti*, composed by an officer of the Gupta court, need not be over-emphasised, for, corroborative evidence, in the form of positive information, is yet to be found. Chandragupta II, on the other hand, is eulogised in the Poona[2] and Rithpur[3] copper-plate grants of the Vākāṭaka queen Prabhāvatīguptā as a great donor of gold and cows[4] (*aneka-go-hiraṇya-koṭi-sahasra-prada-param-bhāgavato mahārāj = ādhirāja-śrī-Chandraguptasya*) whose fame spread far and wide[5] (*chatur = udadhi-sali-svāditayaśa)*. The statement of the Vākāṭaka grants regarding the munificence of Chandragupta II appears to be corroborated by the Udayagiri cave inscription[6] of Vīrasena Śāva (*Tasya rāj = ādhirājarsher = achintyo = jjala-karmaṇah*). It may also be noted that the number, types and sub-varieties of the gold coins of Chandragupta II far outnumber those of Samudragupta's. The suggestion, mootted by A. S. Altekar and endorsed by Jai Prakash,[7] that the Aśvamedha coins of Samudragupta were struck to be given away as *dakshiṇā* to the officiant priests, is not supported by any positive evidence.

2. The statement of the Eran inscription that Samudragupta paid off the bride-price of Dattadevī in the form of valour does not necessarily

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1. *op. cit.*, p. 163.
2. *SI*, pp. 411-15.
3. *Ibid*, pp. 415-18.
4. *Ibid*, pp. 412-13, 416.
5. *Ibid*, p. 412.
6. *Ibid*, p. 272.
7. *JNSI*, XXVIII, pt. 2, p. 158.

imply that the Gupta king forcibly carried her away from the house of her first husband. Dattadevī would have been carried away while she was still virgin or Samudragupta might have won her for his deed of prowess *(vīrya-śulkam)* at the *svayiṁvara*-assembly, summoned by the bride's guardians. Secondly, it is doubtful whether the Eran inscription contains any reference to Samudragupta's chief queen Dattadevī at all. To quote the relevant verse of the inscription :

(Dattā)sya paurusha-parākkrama-datta-śulkā
(Hastya)śva-ratna-dhana-dhānya-samṛiddhi-yuktā|

The name of Dattādevī is not found in the verse in its present state of preservation, but the reading *Dattā* has been proposed to fill up the lacuna at the beginning of line 17. The reading *Dattā* does not suit the expression *hasty=aśva-ratna-dhana-dhānya-samṛiddhi-yuktā*, which has to be applied to Dattadevī. The significance of this expression is fully revealed if *Dattā* is replaced by Śrīra *(Śrīḥasya=Śrīrasya)*. The verse would, in that case, refer to the goddess Lakshmī, also called Śrī, the presiding deity of abundance and prosperity. The representation of the goddess Lakshmī as royal consort is found not unoften in Indian inscriptions, including the records of the Imperial Guptas. Such a suggestion appears to be quite reasonable when it is remembered that no details save the names and titles are recorded about the chief queens in the Gupta inscriptions.

3. It is true that Chandragupta II's victory over the Kshatrapas of Gujarat and western Malwa took place sometime after A. D. 388, the latest known date of the last Kshatrapa Rudrasiṁha III, but the identity of the Śakas, mentioned in *Devī-Chandraguptam*, with those of western India is, by no means, definite. The Śaka king, who, in all probability, was killed by Chandragupta II about the beginning of his reign, appears to have been a scion of the house of king Śrīdharavarman whose inscriptions have been found at Kanakhera near Sanchi and Eran or descendant of kings Īśvara-mitra and Siṁhaśrīsena, known from an inscribed clay sealing, discovered from Eran. The narrative of Viśākhadatta implies that the kingdoms of Rāmagupta and the Śaka king were conterminous. It is, likewise, difficult to believe that at the time of his accession to the throne, Chandragupta II had already passed the stage of getting himself married, for, he does not seem to be as old as has been suggested by R. C. Majumdar and Jai Prakash. The Śakas are mentioned in the Allahabad *praśasti* as subordinate

allies of Samudragupta and there is not even the slightest indication that they had ever been involved in an actual encounter.

4. Chandragupta II launched his campaign against the Śakas of western India quite late in his reign but the Rāmagupta legend refers to an earlier Scythian incursion that coincided with the assumption of power by Chandragupta at Pāṭaliputra, consequent upon his father's death when he was not too old to disguise himself as a beautiful and young queen.

5. The argument that Dhruvadevī was married to Chandragupta II long before A. D. 355 is based on the equation that the hundredth year of his daughter Prabhāvatīguptā corresponded with A. D. 455 by which date Kumāragupta I was succeeded on the imperial throne by Skandagupta. The belief that Prabhāvatīguptā lived for more than one hundred years is based on the expression *s=āgra-varsha-śatādījīva-putra-pautrā*, applied to her in the Rithpur copper-plate grant of her son Pravarasena II. Although the genuinity of the statement has been conceded both by R. C. Majumdar and Jai Prakash, the statement about the age of Prabhāvatīguptā need not be taken literally for the reason that the 19th regnal year of Pravarasena II[1] would be equivalent roughly to his 40th year (as he must have ascended the throne immediately after the attainment of maturity at about the age of 21) when the queen-mother Prabhāvatīguptā was more than 100 years old. This would lead one to an absurd proposition that Prabhāvatīguptā gave birth to her son Pravarasena II when she was in her sixties. It is also not unlikely that *s=āgra-varsha-śata*, indicating long life, is inter-connected with *jīva-putra-pautrā*, meaning 'having living sons and grandsons', and the whole expression would, accordingly, imply 'who has sons and grandsons who (it is hoped) will live for a full hundred years'[2].

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[1] This presupposes that Pravarasena II was the same as Dāmodarasena—a presumption based on a couple of arguments. First, the inscription uses the phrase *Vākāṭakānāṁ Mahārājaḥ* in connection with the name of Dāmodarasena and not with that of the reigning morarch Pravarasena II. Secondly, the absense of the name of Divākarasena from the list of Prabhāvati's sons as found in the inscription, would imply that Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena II were identical and that the latter name was assumed by the prince at the time of his accession. Even if the separate identity of the two be accepted, that would in no way, militate against our observation as the difference between the two, in terms of age, was not more than five years.

[2] Expression like *Jīva sutā* or *Jīva-putrā* occurs in the *Ṛigveda* (X, 36, 9), *Mahābhārata* (V, 144, 2), *Rāmāyana* (IV, 19, 11) as well as in some old inscriptions (*EI*, VIII, p. 73).

6. Samudragupta's accession to the throne was, no doubt, opposed by the rivals of equal birth, but there is no positive evidence in favour of their success in occupying his kingdom or even a part of it. The very fact that of all the Imperial Gupta monarchs Chandragupta II alone is publicly acclaimed as being selected by his father *(tad-pāda-parigṛihīta)* would create the impression that his authority did not meet with approval in all the parts of the dominions, over which his father previously ruled.

7. Samudragupta and Chandragupta II adopted on their coins the titles, *Parākramaḥ* and *Vikramaḥ* respectively, but generally speaking, these titles occur on the reverse while the obverse is occupied by a legend, giving the personal name of the issuer, thus eradicating the possibility of their wrong identification with each other by the people, contemporary or later. It is further difficult to concede that the titles outlived the very names of the bearers of such titles.

8. If it is conceded that Samudragupta adopted the title *Vikramaḥ* towards the closing years of his reign, it is nevertheless difficult to believe, as pointed out earlier, that whereas their names had passed into the veil of oblivion, the titles alone served. It is, moreover, not definite that Samudragupta had ever assumed the title *Vikramaḥ*, for, this title, as applied to him, is so far known from the solitary Bamnala coin which may be due to an accidental mistake committed early in the reign of Chandragupta II, 'the obverse die of the Standard type of the late king was by oversight used along with a reverse die of one of the varieties of the Archer type of the new king'.[1] The Gupta kings had usually one *biruda* only,[2] and the Allahabad inscription, issued towards the end of his reign, expressly states that *Parākramaḥ* was the special *biruda* of Samudragupta.

As is evident from the foregoing discussion, some facts of sober history lie embeded in the Rāmagupta legend. This does not necessarily imply that whatever is told by Viśakhadatta is true, but the facts of the Śaka invasion of Ramgupta's dominions, his defeat at the hands of the invader, his agreement to surrender Dhruvadevī, murder of the Śaka king by Chandragupta II, Chandragupta II's occupation of his brother's kingdom and his marriage with the widowed sister-in-law may be treated as genuine. Not withstanding the assertion of Viśākhadatta to the contrary, it does not appear at all likely that Rāmagupta had succeeded Samudragupta on the imperial throne, but, what seems to be more probable is that he ruled over a part, most probably parts of eastern Malwa, on the frontiers of the Gupta empire and posed a challenge to the authority of his younger but worthier brother Chandragupta II who was the *de-jure* successor of Samudragupta. The estranged relations between the two, coupled with the death of Samudragupta, gave the Śakas the golden opportunity to invade Rāmagupta's kingdom. It was the irony of fate that Rāmagupta was saved from the Scythian menace but, met his doom at the hands of his saviour.

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[1] A. S. Altekar, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp. 44-5.

[2] [Early Gupta kings had more than one titles. See Editor's Note by me in, *JNSI* XLII. p. 125 T.P.V.]

We may now turn to the testimony of coins for their bearing upon the Rāmagupta problem. The attention of the scholars to the so-called Rāmagupta coins was first drawn by P. L Gupta[1] who reported the discovery of six copper coins from Bhilsa (Vidisha) in Madhya Pradesh. H. V. Trivedi[2] reported the discovery of some more copper coins of Rāmagupta from the same site. Talbehat,[3] a small town in Jhansi district, Uttar Pradesh, has yielded a solitary copper coin of Rāmagupta. A large number of copper coins of Rāmagupta were later unearthed at Eran[4] and Vidisha.[5] The discovery of the coins, bearing the name of Rāmagupta, proves the historicity of a king of the same name who, to suggest from the provenances of his coins and inscriptions,[6] was in charge of the Eran-Vidisha region of

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1. *JNSI*, XII, pp. 103-11.
2. *Ibid*, XIII, pp. 128-30.
3. *INS*, p. 126.
4. *Ibid*, p. 120.
5. *Ibid*, p. 121.
6. Three Jaina image inscriptions, recording the making of images, two of the eighth *Tīrthaṅkara* Chandraprabha and one of the ninth *Tīrthaṅkara* Pushpadanta (Suvidhinātha) by *Mahārājādhirāja* Rāmagupta at the behest of the mendicant Chella Kshamaṇa, have been discovered at Vidisha (*JOIB*, XVIII, pp. 247 ff; *JAIH*, III, p. 146). G. S. Gai (*JOIB*, XVIII, p. 248) who has edited the inscriptions of Ramagupta, points out that the alphabet of the record clearly resembles that of the Eran inscription of Samudragupta and the Sanchi inscription of Chandragupta II of the Gupta year 93, and thus from the palaeographical point of view the records may be assigned to about the fourth century A. D. A study of the sculptural features and styles of these images has also led him to arrive at the same conclusion. G. S. Gai observes, 'The *prabhāvalī* is not so much developed and stylised as in the case of the Buddha images at Sanchi of about the fifth century

eastern Malwa. The identity of Rāmagupta of eastern Malwa forms a subject of keen controversy among numismatists, and the three principal views on this issue may be stated blow :

First, Rāmagupta, as suggested by P. L. Gupta,[1] who was a local ruler around Vidisha, flourished in the early part of the fourth century A.D. This view is based on the argument that the form of *gu*, as found on the coins of Rāmagupta, is conspicuous by its absence in the early Gupta inscriptions and coins.

Secondly, Rāmagupta, as propounded by D. C. Sircar,[2] related to the family of Harigupta, and Indragupta, rules about the close of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century A. D. This view is based on the alleged similarity of the coin-types and name of Rāmagupta with those of Harigupta and Indragupta, who are known to have flourished around the end of the fifth century A. D. D. C. Sircar[3] has further suggested that Rāmagupta might have been an as yet unknown younger brother of the Later Gupta king Jīvitagupta.

Thirdly, as advanced by P. L. Gupta,[4] H. V. Trivedi,[5] A.S. Altekar[5] and K. D. Bajpai,[7] Rāmagupta was the elder brother of Chandragupta II and husband of Dhruvadevī and flourished in the second half of the fourth century A. D. This also is based on the palaeography of the coin-legends which is described as 'early Gupta'.

A. D. The representation of *chakra* in the centre of the pedestals of all the three images instead of the characteristic *lāñchhanas* of the respective Tirthankaras also indicates an early stage in the development of Jain iconography' (*Ibid*, p. 248). R. C. Agrawala (*Ibid*, p. 253) opines that stylistically these images may be placed between the Kushāṇa and Gupta art but are datable somewhere towards the end of the fourth century A. D. A comparison of certain letters and signs, as found in the Vidisha inscriptions, with those in the Sanchi inscription of Chandragupta II, has, however, led D. C. Sircar (*JAIH*, 111, p. 149) to assign the records of Rāmagupta to a later period.

1. *JNSI*, XII, p. 111.
2. *SIC*, pp. 221 ff.
3. *JAIH*, III, pp. 147-48.
4. *JNSI*, XII, pp. 103-11.
5. *Ibid*, XIII, pp. 128-30.
6. *CGE*, pp. 162-64.
7. *INS*, p. 129.

It is, therefore, evident that the three theories on the identity of Rāmagupta are mainly based on the palaeography of the coin-legends. Needless to say, any dating, based solely on palaeography, is conjectural and speculative, for, the conclusions it leads to, are often diverse. Whereas the palaeographists G. Buhler and Rapson have assigned the Hāthigumpha inscription of Khāravela to the first half of the second century B. C., D. C. Sircar places it in second half of the first century B. C. Sometime we find the simultaneous existence of different types of alphabet in the same region and time, as in Orissa under the Śailodbhava kings of the 7th-8th centuries A. D.,[1] thus rendering any suggestion about chronology extremely difficult and improbable. But palaeography, when corroborated by other evidence, leads to reliable conclusions. Where are the corroborative evidences in the case of the Rāmagupta coins ?

The fact that the coins of Rāmagupta show a marked resemblance with the copper coins of the Mālavas and Nāgas which were popularised in Malwa in the pre-Gupta period will, no doubt, go to strengthen the view of P. L. Gupta that Rāmagupta was a pre-Gupta local Malwa king. The close correspondence between the Rāmagupta coins and the Mālava-Naga coinage may be shown in the chart drawn below :

	Rāmagupta Coins		*Mālava-Nāga Coins*
1.	Coins are round.	1	Coins are roughly circular or oval.
2.	Coins do not bear the bust of the king.	2.	Coins do not contain any royal bust.
3.	The Lion-type coins show the figure of a lion with an upraised tail.	3.	The lion with an upraised tail figures on several coins.
4.	The obverse shows a crescent on the top.	4.	The obverse of the Nāga coins shows a similar crescent.
5.	The legend is written in a straight line.	5.	The legend on the Mālava coins is in a straight line but that on the Nāga coins is generally circular and rarely in a straight line.

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[1] D. K. Ganguly, *Historical Geography And Dynastic History of Orissa* (Calcutta, 1977), pp. 178 ff.

The following are, however, the points of discrepancy betrayed by the two catagories of coins :

First, the posture of the lion on the coins of Rāmagupta is quite different from that represented on the Malava coins.

Secondly, the legend on the Malava coins is not enclosed in a circle but is written within a rectangular incuse.

Thirdly, the figure of Garuḍa appears on the majority of the Rāmagupta coins but the device does not appear on the Mālava or Nāga coins. It cannot escape notice that the Garuda type coins of Rāmagupta far outnumber those of his Lion-type.

The coins of Rāmagupta, likewise, betray a close correspondence to the Imperial Gupta coins, as may be demonstrated by the following chart :

Rāmagupta Coins	*Imperial Gupta Coins*
1. Coins show various varieties of the bird Garuḍa.	1. The silver and copper coins of the Gupta rulers from the time of Chandragupta II onwards show similar varieties of Garuḍa.
2. Several coins show the figure of Garuḍa, holding snakes.	2. The coins of Chandragupta II and his successors sometime show the bird Garuḍa, holding snakes.
3. The figure of the three-headed Garuḍa occurs on certain Rāmagupta coins.	3. The figure of the three-headed Garuḍa appears on some of the silver coins of Kumāragupta I.
4. Some of the Rāmagupta coins show on their obverse inside a circle, a crescent at the top and the legend below.	4. The Vase type copper coins of Chandragupta II show a similar obverse.
5. Coins were struck on the basis of a weight standard, approximating 40 grains.	5. The copper coins of Chandragupta II follow the same metrical system.

6. The motif of the lion occurs on some of the Rāmagupta coins.	6. The type of lion, seen on the Rāmagupta coins, occurs on a clay seal of Dhruvadevi.[1]

The coins of Rāmagupta, however, do not betray any striking similarity with the monetary issues of Harigupta[2] and Indragupta. The only common feature of the coins of Rāmagupta, Harigupta and Indragupta is the occurrence of Garuḍa, but the various varieties of Garuda, noticeable on the coins of Rāmagupta, are conspicuous by their absence on the coins of Harigupta and Indragupta. The legend on the coins of Harigupta is not as short as that on the Rāmagupta coins, and further it is written in two lines unlike the legend on the Rāmagupta coins which is in a straight line. Whereas the bust of the king was a favourite device of both Harigupta and Indragupta, it did not find favour with Rāmagupta. It is extremely difficult to associate Rāmagupta with Harigupta and Indragupta, for, no coin of Rāmagupta has so far been discovered from Bihar, Kauśāmbī or Pañchāla, nor have we come across any coin of the other two kings from eastern Malwa which has yielded a large number of copper coins of Rāmagupta, amounting to a few hundreds. D. C. Sircar's suggestion about the close relationship between Rāmagupta and the Later Gupta monarch Jīvitagupta is annulled by the fact that no coins of the Later Gupta kings[3] have so far come to light.

Thus, we see, that of the three views about the identity of Rāmagupta, the first and the third appear to be more convincing and reasonable than the second one. Rāmagupta, hence, was either a local Mālava or Naga

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1. *ASI, AR*, 1903-04, plate XL.
2. Till now only a couple of copper coins of Harigupta are known of which one found at Ahicchatra (modern Ramnagar in Bareily district, Uttar Pradesh) (Cunningham, *Coins of Medival India*, p. 10, plate II, no. 6) while the find-spot of the other, now preserved in the Allahabad Municipal Museum, is unknown (*SIC*, p. 224). Excavations at Kumrahar near Patna in Bihar have revealed two copper coins of Indragupta (Altekar and Mishra, *Report on Kumrahar Excavations* (1951-53), p. 100, nos. 1 and 3). There is no valid ground to believe that these two rulers flourished in the Bundelkhand-Malwa region.
3. Mention may be made of a coin having on its reverse the name of *Mahārāja* Devagupta, published by Cunningham. But it is not clear whether this coin really belongs to Devagupta, as D.C. Sircar (*SIC*, p. 229) himself admits, Harigupta might have been wrongly mentioned as Devagupta.

king of eastern Malwa or he was the Imperial Gupta prince of the same name, the elder brother of Chandragupta II.

As regards the theory that Rāmagupta was a local Mālava or Nāga king of eastern Malwa in the early part of the fourth century A.D. it is extremely doubtful whether the Mālavas held sway over eastern Malwa in this period, as their kingdom appears to have comprised Mewar, Tonk and the adjoining region of south-east Rajasthan[1] in western Malwa. Till now not a single coin of Rāmagupta has come from any part of western Malwa. The coins of the Mālavas often show the so-called Ujjain symbol, showing varieties of cross and balls. A large number of coins of Rāmagupta have been unearthed but none bears the well-known Mālava symbol. Again, the majority of the Malava coins show the name of the tribe, but we do not come across any such tribal name on the Rāmagupta coins. Moreover, no Mālava ruler with Gupta name-ending is so far known. In view of these considerations, the identification of Rāmagupta of the coins with an unknown Mālava king of the same name, appears to be highly improbable. The Nāgas were in possession of parts of eastern Malwa in the first half of the fourth century A.D., but Rāmagupta could hardly have been a scion of the Nāga family either, for, the very name Rāmagupta militates against such a presumption. Rāmagupta had issued a large number of coins with the device of the bird Garuḍa which is sometime shown as holding snakes. To adopt such a device for his own coinage was certainly not in harmony with the religious belief and sentiment of a Nāga king.

The authenticity of the second alternative that Rāmagupta of the copper coins was the elder brother of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya has been opposed on the basis of the following arguments.

First, Rāmagupta, the elder brother of Chandragupta II, could not have held sway over the region around Vidisha which came to form a part of the Gupta dominions at a subsequent date, falling within the reign of Chandragupta II.[2]

Secondly, the coins of Rāmagupta do not exercise any influence on the coins of the Imperial Guptas. Chandragupta II issued nine types of copper coins, but strangely none has a lion on the reverse.[3]

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1. *EHNI*, p. 192.
2. *JNSI*, XII, p. 110.
3. *Ibid*, p. 109.

Thirdly, the name of Rāmagupta is mentioned in Prākṛit on his coins. This is unusual since we do not find the names of the Gupta rulers on their coins in Prākṛit forms.[1]

Fourthly, the coins of the Guptas, in gold, silver or copper, bear invariably the bust of the monarch but the coins of Ramagupta offer a surprising departure from the recognised convention.[2]

Fifthly, all the early Gupta emperors are known to have struck gold coins, but it is inexplicable why there are no gold coins of Rāmagupta.[3]

But the arguments raised aginst the theory, equating Rāmagupta of the coins with the elder brother of Chandragupta II, do not appear to be unanswerable. It may be observed against the first argument that the coins of Rāmagupta have been found not from Vidisha alone, they have also been discovered at Besnagar and Eran. A record of Samudragupta has actually been found at Eran in eastern Malwa. The discovery of a genuine record of Śamudragupta from eastern Malwa is very significant when it is remembered that the places, where-from the inscriptions of this Gupta monarch have been unearthed, are far from being numerous.[4] As inscriptions discovered in places other than those of pilgrimage, are almost positive proofs of the limits of kingdoms of those kings who issued them, it may reasonably be held that Eran formed a part of the Gupta dominions even during the reign of Samudragupta. In the Allahabad pillar inscription mention is made of a king named Gaṇapatināga whose kingdom is said to have been annexed by Samudragupta. The kingdom of Gaṇapatināga has not been defined in the record but the fact that his coins have been found at Besnagar would go to imply that a part of eastern Malwa belonged to this Nāga king of Padmāvatī. It was from Gaṇapatināga that the region around Besnagar was evidently conquered by Samudragupta.[5] It, however, cannot

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1. *JNSI*, XII p. 110.
2. *SAAIHC*, p. 16.
3. *Ibid*, p. 10.
4. The recorded find-spots of Samudragupta inscriptions include Allahabad and Eran whereas his records, discovered from Nalanda and Gaya, are said to be suprious.
5. D. C. Sircar's (*SIC*, p. 223) assertion that Samudragupta's supremacy over Malwa is also indicated by Harisheṇa's statement about the extirpation of an Āryāvart king named Rudradeva, identified with the Śaka ruler Rudrasena III of western India, does not bear scrutiny.

be said that the whole of eastern Malwa was under the possession of Samudragupta, for, there are reasons to believe that at about the same time, some parts of it were definitely under the occupation of certain semi-independent tribal powers that paid him taxes, obeyed his orders and performed obeisance in person to him. Of the nine tribal states, enumerated in the Allahabad pillar inscription, a few can easily be located in the eastern part of Malwa. The kingdom of the Ābhīras[1] is located in the region around Ahirwada between Jhansi and Vidisha; the kingdom of the Prārjunas[2] is placed near Narsingarh, not far from Vidisha; the kingdom of the Sanakānīkas[3] is identified with the Isagarh region and the kingdom of the Kākas[4] is equated with the region around Sanchi which was known as Kākanāda-boṭa. These four tribal states, which were all located in eastern Malwa, lay within Samudragupta's sphere of influence but did not form a part of the area, directly under the rule of the great Gupta monarch.

The observation that Chandragupta II did not issue any copper coins with the device of a lion on the reverse is correct, but it is also to be noted that the reverse of the Chakra type copper coins of this Gupta king show manay varieties of Garuḍa, which occur so frequently on the coins of Rāmagupta. Further, the close correspondence between the copper coins of Chandragupta II and Rāmagupta in respect of the occurrence of the Garuḍa device, depiction of the crescent and legend as one above the other within a circle, metrology, etc. would go against the theory that the coins of Rāmagupta do not exercise any influence upon those of Chandragupta II and his successors.

Thirdly, it is doubtful whether the name of Rāmagupta is mentioned in its Prākṛit form[5] on the coins. The legend in most cases is blurred, and the complete legend, read from many pieces, appears to be Rāmagupta.

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1. *JRAS* (1897), p. 891.
2. *IHQ*, I, p. 258.
3. *SI*, pp. 271-72.
4. *Ibid*, p. 273.
5. A. S. Altekar (*CGE*, p. 162) reads the legend as *Rāmagupta* (*Ibid*, plate XXVI, no. 28), a reading, confirmed by K. D. Bajpai (*INS*, pp. 140-42).

Fourthry, it is true that the Rāmagupta coins do not bear the bust of the king, but it has to be admitted that the Chakra[1] and Vase[2] types of the copper coins of Chandragupta II and the Altar type[3] copper coins of Kumāragupta I or II do not contain the royal bust. The fact that the coins of Rāmagupta do not bear the royal bust is not without significance. It seems that, immediately ofter his conquest of Eran and Besnagar, Samudragupta nominated his son Rāmagupta as the governor of the conquered parts of eastern Malwa. The selection of Rāmagupta as the governor of parts of eastern Malwa was made by Samudragupta to serve the two-fold purpose of keeping the turbulent semi-independent tribal chiefs of the region in check, and of persuading the elder prince to leave the court of Pāṭaliputra in favour of the younger prince Chandragupta who was to be nominated for the imperial throne. The practice of nominating the princes as governors of provinces was prevalent in the Gupta period as is evidenced by the cases of Govindagupta of the Mandasor inscription, dated Vikrama year 524 (=A. D. 467) and Ghaṭotkachagupta of the Tumain fragmentary inscription of the Gupta year 116 (=A. D. 435). The majority of his coins were issued during the period of his governorship in eastern Malwa, and when he asserted independence at the death of his father Samudragupta, the threat from the neighbouring Śakas and the reigning Gupta monarch Chandragupta II hardly gave him any respite for the introduction of a new coinage with his own portrait, as was expected of an independent monarch.

Fifthly, notwithstanding the testimony of Viśākhadatta, it does not seem likely that Rāmagupta had ever ascended the throne of Paṭaliputra. He was the governor of a part of eastern Malwa during the reign of Samudragupta and with the death of his father he ultimately rose to the rank of an independent chief of the region for a short period till he was overthrown and killed by his younger brother. The truth that all the early coins of eastern Malwa were struck in metals other than gold would legitimately create the impression that eastern Malwa did not have any gold mint. In the circumstances, it is not at all surprising that there are no gold coins[1] of Rāmagupta.

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[1] *CGE*, p. 160.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 161.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 239.

If the theory, ascribing the copper coins from eastern Malwa to Rāmagupta, the elder brother of Chandragupta II Vikamāditya be conceded, one is inevitably led to the conclusion that the region over which Rāmagupta exercised his sway even at the summit of his power, was only a small fragment of the vast Gupta dominions, and suppose that he was the immediate predecessor of Chandragupta II on the Imperial throne is to wilfully go astray from the *terra firma* of solid facts.

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[1] A. S. Altekar (*CGE*, p. 164) thinks that the gold coins of Rāmagupta may be discovered in future and cites the case of Budhagupta, two of whose gold coins have so far been known. Altekar has further suggested that Rāmagupta was in possession of the whole of the Gupta dominions after the death of Samudragupta but excluding the testimony of *Devī-Chandraguptam*, there is no evidence in favour of such an extensive kingdom under Rāmagupta. In fact, it is difficult to believe that Rāmagupta's kingdom extended beyond eastern Malwa and accordingly, he does not appear to have struck gold coins at all.

THE CULT OF SRILAKSHMI IN EASTERN INDIA AS REFLECTED ON THE COINS

PRANABANANDA JASH

The Śrīlakshmī aspect of Vaishṇavism is an important concept of the Vaishṇava pantheon. The theme though very popular in eastern India in the later period did not have an independent cult like the cult of Śiva, Vishṇu and others.[1] Independent worship of Śrīlakshmi before the Christian era was undoubtedly in vogue in this part of the country; but the antiquity of her worship along with Vishṇu or the coupling of the goddess Śrīlakshmī with Vishṇu cannot be pushed back before the time of the Guptas.

A study of the legends and motifs found on the coins in the early centuries preceding and following the Christian era will reveal that Śrīlakshmī appears to have been worshipped popularly in various regions of country. Śrī and Lakshmī were originally two separate goddesses merged together in the period of the *Brāhmaṇas* and early *Upanishads*. Lakshmī is found, perhaps for the first time, in the *Śrī-sūkta* of the *Ṛig-Vedapariśishta*[2] of which she is called a moon-like golden coloured deer decorated with gold and silver ornaments. The *Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā* refers to them as the two wives of *Purusha* (*Śrī ḥ cha te Lakshmīḥ cha patnyau*).[3] In the period of the *Gṛihya-sūtras*[4] Śrī and Lakshmi were two separate divinities. But the *Agnigṛhyasūtra*[5] informs us that they are originating from Brahmā and each has her individual existence. Separate identities of Śrī and Lakshmī are also to be found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[6] and the *Mahābhārata*,[7] but sometimes these two names are applied indiscriminately to the same divinity. Thus, *Śāntiparva* of the *Mahābhārata*[8] tells that Śrī is also known as Lakshmī.

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1. J. N. Banerjea, *Devlopment of Hindu Iconography (DHI)*, p. 370
2. *Ṛig-veda*, *Śrī-sūkta*, stanza-VIII.
3. *Vāj Saṁ*. XXXI, 22
4. '*Śriyai svāhā Lakshmyai svāhā*'-*Kāṭhaka-gṛihya-sūtra* 17, 1; *Mānava-gṛihya-sūtra*, 2, 13, 6; *Baudhāyaṇa-gṛihya-sūtra*, 1, 3, 37
5. *Agni-gṛihya-sutra*, 2, 5, 3
6. *Rāmāyaṇa*, III. 46.17
7. *Mahābhārata*, III 38, 25
8. *Ibid*, XII. 225.8

During the time of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*[1] these two names Śrī and Lakshmī, were considered as separate; but they and a number of other divine mother goddesses are invoked for success.

Regarding the orgin of Śrī various legends have been fabricated in different times. The *Mahābhārata*[2] speaks of her as the daughter of Brahmā and the mother of the two sky-going horses—Dhātṛi and Vidhātṛi. But she is popularly represented in the great epic[3] as well as *Purāṇas*[4] as one of the ten daughters of Daksha and wife of Dharma; and her son is Darpa. The *Ādiparva* of the *Mahābhārata*[5] contains a popular and well circulated myth of the churning of the ocean and the origin of Śrī Lakshmī. It narrates that Śrī clad in white garment came out of the sea along with *Soma* (moon), *Surā* (wine), the white steed, *Kausṭubha* (Jewel) and Dhanvantari who carried the nectar pot in his hand. However, different legends about the origin of this deity and her description of varied forms in the texts testify to her immense popularity.

In fact, Lakshmī as a goddess of prosperity was acknowledged from the early period as evidenced by the images of Gaja-Lakshmī found from Bharhut, Sāñchī and Bodh-Gayā.[6] Besides the scriptural descriptions and sculptural carvings, representations of Śrī Lakshmī are also found among the earliest devices on ancient Indian coins. Thus the Śunga kings who occupied Magadha after the Mauryas issued *Gaja-Lakshmī* type of coins. On a coin of the king Sujeshṭha (Sujyeshṭha or Jyeshṭhamitra) we find on the reverse the figure of the goddess Lakshmī standing on a lotus holding a flower in her right hand. An elephant stands on each side on a lotus and pours water on her from a vessel held in his trunk. Ajit Ghosh[7] describes this unique coin as follows : "*Obverse* : King, holding uncertain object, probably *Chauri* (fly-whisk) in right hand, riding on prancing horse,

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1. Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, III. 86 ff.
2. *Mahābhārata*, I, 60.50; In the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* (1.8.15; 10.2) she is described as the sister of Dhātā and Vidhātā.
3. *Mahābhārata*, I 60.13.
4. *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, I 7, 23; *Vishṇudharmottara*, I. 107 90-94.
5. *Mahābhārata*, I. 16.34-36.
6. J. N. Banerjea, *DHI*, pp. 374-75; Gaja-Lakshmī scene dating in the second first centuries B.C. is carved on one of the earliest rock-cut caves at Pitalkhora in the Aurangabad district, Mahārāshṭra-*Ancient India*, No 15, pp. 70-80.
7. *JNSI.*, XVI, 1954, p. 39.

preceded by a man walking with a *Kamaṇḍalu* (water-pot) in his right hand, eight petalled lotus-shaped *chakra* with spokes at top right hand corner, which is slightly broken and Ujjain symbol at top left hand corner, which is slightly bent in. Inscription between Ujjain symbol and *chakra* : *Sujeṭhasa.*

Reverse : Goddess Lakshmī, wearing tiara and jewelled girdle, standing facing on lotus and holding flower in raised right hand; to the right and left of the goddess an elephant standing on full blown lotus with long stalk and pouring water on her from water vessel held aloft in trunk- the whole in low relief on circular raised area; traces of border lines to left and above circle."

The deity is also represented on some square copper coins from Ujjain.[1] The *Gaja-Lakshmī* type of device is also represented on the coins of Vāyudeva, Viśākhadeva and Śivadatta, the kings of Ayodhyā.[2] J. N. Banerjea mentioned all these coins and observed that "the motif, as it typifies the Indian idea of prosperity, frequently appears on coins and sculptures of later date and is still used by the Hindus."[3] Sometimes on the reverse of the inscribed coins there is a common tendency to maintain early tradition of introducing a group of symbols which can variously be explained. But with regard to the elephant it may be suggested that it is the theriomorphic repesentation of Lakshmī. In fact the *Abhisheka-Lakshmī* or *Gaja—Lakshmī* variety of coins is characterised by elephant on either side sprinkling the divinity. Those elephants are sometimes found standing on pedestal. The elephant itself on some of the earlier coins, without being associated with the goddess Lakshmī, possibily represents the divinity of prosperity and victory.[4]

The imperial Gupta rulers, who were staunch followers of the Vaishṇava faith, issued coins bearing the image of Lakshmī on the reverse.

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1. Allan *BMCAI.*, XVIII 24
2. *Ibid.* pp. 130-31
3. *DHI*, pp. 110-11; Dr. Smt. Bela Lahiri in a paper entitled *Lakshmī on Early Indian Coins* has also referred to the Gaja-Lakshmī variety of Lakshmi on the coins dating between the third century B.C. and the first century A.D.—*(Foreigners in Ancient India and Lakshmī and Sarasvatī in Art and Literature. Ed. D. C. Sircar).*
4. B. Chatterjee, *Coins and Icons-A study of Myths and Symbols in Indian Numismatic Art, p. 250.*

The image on the reverse of the Chandragupta-Kumāradevī coinage is identified by some scholars with goddess Lakshmī.[1] The devotion of Samudragupta is mainly known from his coins which bear the symbol of a *Garuḍa* banner. But Chandragupta II and several other kings of this dynasty designated themselves as *parama-bhāgavatas* on their coins.[2] Goddess Lakshmī is repesented on the reverse side of the Archer-type coins of Chandragupta II "Goddess Lakshmī seated on lotus and holding a noose in r. hand and lotus in l. resting on the thigh. Symbol on l., legend, *Śrī-Vikramaḥ*."[3] Again, the *Chakravikrama* type of gold coins of the same king bears the representation of the king nimbate, receiving three round objects from a deity who is identified as Vishṇu or *Chakra-purusha*, the personification of Vishṇu's weapon Chakra (discus).[4] The representation of seated Lakshmī is to be found on the reverse side of the gold coinage of Kumāragupta I,[5] Skandagupta[6] and his successors.[7]

That the Gaja-Lakshmī or Śrī Lakshmī aspect of Vaishṇavism was very popular in eastern region is known from the seals. Thus, the excavations conducted by Bloch at Basarh (Vaiśālī) Bihar, have brought to light at least fourteen clay seals which bear a representation of *Gaja-Lakshmī* with some variations.[8] From the same site we find a seal on which a female figure is depicted on a platform above a barge.[9] The figure on the platform is identi-

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1. *DHI.*, p. 135
2. A. S. Altekar, *The Coinage of the Gupta Emplre (CGE)*, p. 143
3. *Ibid.*, pp 99 ff.
4. According to Altekar "This Chakra-purusha is identifien with Vishṇu himself, *Chakrarūpī svyaṁ Hariḥ*".-*Ibid.*, p. 148. C. Sivaramamurti *(JNSI.*, XIII, pp. 180-82) and V. S. Agawala *(JNSI.*, XVI, 1954, pp. 97-101) identified the deity with *Chakra-purusha.*
5. Various types or the gold coinage of Kumāragupta-I bearing the image of seated Lakshmī are : *Archer type* (A. S. Altekar, *CGE*, pp. 169 ff); *Horseman type* (.,*Ibid* pp. 177 ff.); *Elephant-Rider-type* *(Ibid*, pp. 194-95); *Apratigha type (Ibid.*, pp. 207-10).
6. The *Archer-type* gold coinage of Skandagupta also bears the image of seated Lakshmī on the reverse (Altekar, *CGE.*, p. 242 ; 'the king and Lakshmī type' coin similarly bears the image of Lakshmī. But the nomenclature of the coin, viz., the king and Lakshmī type' is very controversial *(Ibid.*, pp. 244-47).
7. A. S. Altekar, *CGE.*, pp. 270-78.
8. *ASIAR.*, 1903-04, pp. 107 ff.; Seal Nos, 3-11, 13, 20-23.
9. D. B. Spooner, *ASIAR.*, 1913-14, pp. 124 ff. Seal No 93

fied by Banerjea as Lakshmī dwelling in commerce (*Vāṇijya-Lakshmī*).[1] Some other seals show Lakshmī simply holding a lotus stalk,[2] or standing between the elephants.[3]

The popularity of this theme in the post-Gupta period continued in eastern India, especially in Bengal as is evidenced by the continuity of its devices on the post-Gupta gold coins of Bengal.[4] A. S. Altekar discussed some of these coins under the heading *'Imitations of Gupta Coins'*, while A. N. Lahiri refers to them as *'coins imitated from the Gupta types'*.[5] On the reverse side of these coins Lakshmī is represented either as a Gaja-Lakshmī or simply seated. One gold coin of Samāchāra (provenance unknown) bearing the image of Lakshmī may be described as follows :

"*Obverse* : King, nimbate, standing in *tribhaṅga* pose, holding bow in left hand and offering incense at an altar by right hand, looking to his right; necklace of pearls or golden beads round neck; to the right appears a standard planted on the ground and surmounted by a bull. Legend below the left arm in characters of the close of the sixth century A. D.—*Samā*, between the feet—*chā*, and above the bull of the standard—*ra*.

Reverse : Lakshmī, nimbate, seated facing on a full-blown lotus, having a lotus bud with stalk in her left hand, and fillet in the outstretched right hand; symbol on left. Legend—*Śrī-Narendravinata*."[6]

Śaśāṅka, the king of Bengal though an ardent follower of Śiva, expressed his reverence to the goddess Lakshmī by depicting her image on the reverse side of two types of his gold coins.[7] The details of the reverse sides of the two coins are as follows :

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1. *DHI.*, p. 211
2. *ASIAR.*, 1913-14, Seal Nos. 308, 312, 446.
3. *Ibid.*, Seal No., 200; For interesting details of Gaja-Lakshmī on Seāls, cf. K. K. Thaplyal, *'Gaja-Lakshmī on Seals'* in 'Foreigners in Ancient India and Lakshmī and Sarasvatī in Art and Literature' edited, D. C. Sircar, pp. 112-25.
4. *Journal of Ancient Indian History (JAIH.)*, V. pts. 1-2, pp. 182-91.
5. A. S. Altekar, *CGE.*, 317-37; *Farly Indian Indigenous Coins*, edited, D. C. Sircar, 1970. pp. 69; For D. C. Sircar's observation on the 'Post Śaśāṅka Gold coins from Eastern Bengal'- *JAIH.*, IV, pt 1-2, 1970-71, pp. 186-92.
6. The reading of the legends on the obverse and the reverse are not free from controversy. *JAIH.*, V, pts 1-2, p. 183, fn. 6-7.
7. Allan, *BMCGD.*, pl. XXIII. 14, Pl XXIV.2; Altekar, *CGE.*, pl XIX A. 8, pl XIX A. 10

Type I, reverse side : "Lakshmī, nimbate, seated crose-legged on lotus, facing front; holding a lotus with stalk in her left hand which rests on her knee, while her right hand is outstretched but empty. Above, on either side of the deity, stands an elephant sprinkling water over her : Legend in the right margin—*Śrī-Śaśaṅkaḥ*". Here Lakshmī is described as *abhisheka-Lakshmī*. But on the reverse of *Type-II* we find "Lakshmī, as above but without elephants by her side; holding a full-bloomed lotus with long stalk in extended right hand. Legend in the right margin—*Śrī-Śaśaṅkaḥ*". It shows that Lakshmī in her varied forms was popular in Bengal. Another representation of Gaja-Lakshmī is to be found on some highly debased gold coins of one Jaya.[1] The revese side of his coins may be described as follows : Lakshmī, nimbate, seated on lotus facing front, holding fillet in outstretched right hand and lotus in left; above elephant on the left sprinkling water over the deity; legend on right *Śra* (*Śrī*)-*Prakaṇḍayaśa*.

The continuity of the practice of depicting Gaja-Lakshmī or seated Lakshmī on the reverse side of the coinage in the eastern region was maintained even in the time of the earlier Pāla rulers who were ardent followers of Buddhism.[2] The Pāla king Devapāla (c. A. D. 810-50) issued a gold coin[3] which shows the figure of Lakshmī on the reverse and also bears the legend—*Śrī,* or the goddess Lakshmī. The description of coin is as follows :

Obverse : King, standing in *tribhaṅga* pose, to front with face turned to left, wearing *dhoti* and armlets on upper arms and bangles on wrists, holding a feathered arrow (with one end resting on the ground) in extended right hand and bow in extended left hand. Legend in East Indian characters (c. 9th century A.D.) (1) *Śrī*—(2) [*Man*] (above right hand), (3)

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[1] Allan, *BMCGD*, pl XXIV. 6-8; Altekar, *CGE.*, pp. 330-32; pl. XIXA. 11-13. The idedtification of Jaya is uncertain. On palaeographical ground, he has been placed between c. 550 and 650 A. D.

[2] [Gajalakshmī was a populer device even in the Buddhist art at Sanchi, Bharhut and Bodh-Gaya-OPS].

[3] Ajit Ghosh (*JNSI.*, XIII, pp. 128-25) identified the issuer of the coin with the Pāla emperor Devapāla and this has been accepted by Lallanji Gopal (*Early Medieval Coin-types of Northern India,* p. 68, pl vii. 14). But D. C. Sircar (*Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 383) is not certain whether the coin can be ascribed to that king.

Harsha—(4) *va* (beneath right hand), (5) *n* = *Deva Pala*, 'the illustrious Harshvat Devapāla'.

Reverse : Lakshmī, seated cross-legged on conventional double lotus, holding lotus in both left and right hands, is adorned with armlets on upper arm and bangles on wrists; vase on either side of the deity. Legend— *Śrī* (i. e. the Goddess Lakshmī) in upper left field.

On the basis of the numismatic representations of Goddess Lakshmī in different poses, it may not be unreasonable to assume that the practice of worshipping Śrīlakshmī was popular in eastern India.

ORNAMENTS AS DEPICTED ON EARLY INDIAN COINS

O. P. SINGH

(Pls. VI. 1-17 & VII. 1-2)

The instict to beautify the body gave birth to ornaments. There are numerous references to several varieties of jewellery in ancient Indian literature and they are also depicted in sculptures and paintings. Archaeological excavations have brought to light some interesting specimens. Coins, too, are an important source of information on the subject.

Head Ornaments

Royal heads on the coins of the later Indo-Scythians wear crowns with a triple ornament. Sometimes it is surmounted by the crescent and the ball.[1]

Circular[2] and conical[3] ivy-beads seem to have been inserted in the wreath (or crown). Artemis wears a head ornament in which eight prongs are projecting upward.[4] In Some cases crested[5] and turreted[6] crowns are also found. The Indo-Parthian coins have a tiara of the late Parthian form.[7]

Ear Ornaments

The custom of perforating the ear-lobes and ears for the insertion of various types of ear-ornaments is very old in India. The ceremony of *karṇavedha* (perforation of the ear) is one of the important *saṁskaras* in the life of a twice-born, and the wearing of *kuṇḍalas* was once regarded as one of the privilages of a *Brahmacharin* and householder.[8]

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[1] Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, p. 71, pl. VI, 5.6.

[2] Gardner, *The Coins of Greeks And Scythic Kings of Bactria And India In the British Museum* (Henceforth *BMC*), pl. II, 10.

[3] *Ibid* pl. III, 3.

[4] *Ibid.*, pl. III, 1; Whitehead, *PMC*, pl. I, 22.

[5] *BMC*, pl. III, 9.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 68, pl. XVI, 3.9.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 113, pl. XXIII, 3, 9.

[8] Banerjea, J. N., *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 288,

The ear-ornaments are met with on the coins of the Yaudhayas. On the reverse side of these coins, the goddess is shown as wearing a cirular *kuṇḍala*.[1] On the coins of Azilises[2] and Rajuvula, Indo-Scythian rulers, we come across the goodess wearing a *kuṇḍala*[3] (Pl. IV, fig. 1). Round[4] and triangular[5] earrings (Pl. VI, figs. 2, 3) are seen in the ears of Śaka rulers of Western India. In the Gupta coins, both male[5] and female[6] figures (Pl. VI, figs. 4, 5 and 6) are shown wearing ear-rings.

Apart from the *kuṇḍala*, we come across the following varieties of ear-ornaments :

The coins of the Yaudheyas show Kārttikeya[7] and the goddess[8] wearing a solid ornament which looks like a dot (Pl. VI, fig. 7). It has been described as a circular *kuṇḍala*[9]. But had it been a *kuṇḍala*, it would have been hallow in the middle. It should rather be termed as *bunda*.[10] It is also to be seen on the coins of Kauśāmbī,[11] Kuṇinda[12] and Pañchāla[13] (Pl. VI, fig. 8).

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[1] Smith, V. A., *IMC*, p. 181, pl. XXI, 15, Cf. Govindachandra, R., *Prāchina Bhārata Me Lakshmī Pratimā*, p. 78, p. 25 (na).

[2] Whitehead, *PMC*, pl. XIII, 332, Banerji, R. D. *Prāchina Mudrā*, pp. 90-91; See also Govindachandra, R., *op. cit.*, p. 77.

[3] Rapson, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, the Coins of* the *Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas* etc. pl. X; 263, 280.

[4] *Ibid*, pl. X, 263.

[5] *BMCGD*. pls. I, 13; II to I; V, 1-8, VI; VII, 1-2 and 4 to 7, 10-12; VIII, 15; IX, 1, 3 to 5; X, 9; XVI, 15, XIX, 5, 12; *BHC* pls. I to III; V, 6-14; VI, 3 to 15; VII to IX; X, 1 to 5; XII, 9; XIV, 15; XV, 4 to 14; XVI, 7 to 11: XVII, 12, 14; XVIII, 11 to 13; XX, 14i XXV, 10 to 15; XXVI, 1 to 11 (rev); XXVII, 4, 9, 11-12, XXVIII, 11-13, XXXI, 4-5.

[6] *BMCGD*, pls. II, 14; III, 11, 12, 14; V, 2-4, 7, 8, 11, 13, 14; VI, 11; VIII, 7 to 10, IX, 15-17, 8 to 13; XII, 14; XIII, 1, 11 to 19; XIV, 14 to 17; *CGF*, pls. VI, 8; VII, 1, 12, 14, 15; VIII, 1 to 15, X, 11-12, XI, 1 to 5, 13: XIII, 1, 3, 8, *BHC*, pls. I, 4, IV, 6, 7, 8, to 15; V, 1 to 5, VI, 4 to 10, VII, 2, 5, 7, VIII; XIV, 1 to 15; XV, 1 to 5, 12 to 15; XVI, 1, 3 to 7; XXII, 1 to 10, 13, 15; XXIII, 1 to 15; XXIV, 1 to 15, XXV, 1 to 5, 11 to 15; XXVII, 2, 4, 5, 7, 11, 12; XXX, 2 to 12.

[7] Allan, *BMCAI*, pl. XL, 2, 4, 6.

[8] *Ibid*, Pl. XL, 4 (rev.), 5 (rev.), 6 (rev.).

[9] Govindachandra, R., *op. cit.*, p. 78, Pl. 25 (na)

[10] The modern currupt form is *bundā* which is still popular in Western U. P.

[11] Allan, *op cit.*, pl. XX, 1 (rev.)

[12] *Ibid.*, pl. XXVII, 12 (obv.)

[13] *Ibid*, pl. XXVII, 11-14; R. Govindachandra describes them as a circular *bālī*, *op. cit.*, p. 67, Pl. 25, (Ka), Cf. Brown, C. J. *The Coins of India*, pl. X, 4.

(b) A dancing girl[1] depicted on the coins of Pantaleon and Agathokles (Pl. VI, fig. 9) adorns her ears with long pendants. Ear-pendants were quite popular in Greek society, as is evident from the finds from the excavations at Taxila.[2]

(c) According to Dhavalikar, "The commonest ear-ornament in the Gupta period was a large disc which is probably the *tatanka-chakra* of literature".[3] Such discs covered with gold foil bearing repouse patterns have been found in excavations.[4] Dhavalikar has drawn our attention towards the discs, decorated with enamelled ornament of the Gupta period now in the Cleveland Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museums in London.[5] An interesting and notewhorthy variety seen on the Gupta coins is a hanging pendulum affixed with a long hook which is inserted into lobes (Pl. VI, figs. 10, 11). It tooks like the *jhumka*.[6]

(d) The coins of the Sātavāhanas depict punched-ears of the kings.[7] Heavy rings, in some cases two in each ear and in others rows of beads joined together, constituted their ear ornaments.[8] The representation of the portraits of Vāsishṭhīputra-Śrī Sātakarṇi on the silver coins shows his punched-ears.[9] Vasishṭhīputra Pulumāvi wears probably a ring with a

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1. *BMC*, pp. 9, 11; pls. III, 1, IV, 9; PMC, pl. II, 35.
2. For ornaments of the amphora, the disk-and-pendant, bar-and-pendant types and the leech-and-pendant type have been unearthed there. Marshall, *Taxila*, II, pp. 620-21.
3. *JNSI*, XXXV, p. 191;
4. *TAR*, 1956-57, p. 17.
5. *JNSI*, XXXV, p. 191.
6. *Jhumkās* are still prevalent in Indian society. Cf. *BMCGD*, Pls. I, 14 to 17, II, 1, III, p. VI, 1-4, 8, 13-18, VII, 1-9, 12-19, VIII, 3-5, 11-15, IX, 3-8, 10, 14, 13, XII, 1-9, 10, 15-16, 18, XIX, 9-15, XX, 1, 2, XXIII, 7; BHC, pls. I, 7, 9, 10, III, 6, VII, 14, VIII, 7, 9, 14, IX, 6; 8-10, X, 11, 12, XII, 4, 5. 15, XIII, 1-5, XV, 7-10, XVI, 8-14, VIII, 2, 3, 12, XIX, 1, 12, XX, 7-15, XXVIII, 9 XXIX, 8, 12-14, XXXI, 11, 12.
7. Rapson, *op. cit.*, Pl. VII (the portrait of Gautamiputra Yajna Satakarni); Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, p. 25; *JNSI*, XI, p. 59 Cf. the portrait of Vāsishṭhiputra Sātakarṇi); *Ibid.*, XIV, Pl. I. 1, 2. (Cf. the portrait of Vāsishṭhiputra Puḷumāvi).
8. Gopalachari, K., *Early History of Andhra Country*, p, 99.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

pendant.[1] An inverted crescent, set with a conical pearl and a precious hemispherical diamond or a pearl with pointed ends, is hanging downward in the ear-lobe of Gautamīputra Yajña-Śrī-Sātakarṇi. It appears like a *laṭakana*. Rulers of Kidāra Shāhi dynasty are also seen wearing long ear-rings.[2] But these rings are with pendants.[3] The Hūṇa rulers wear either round one-stringed or two-stringed ear-rings with pearls inset.[4]

Necklace

A few varieties of neck ornaments are also depicted on the coins. Kārttikeya and the goddess on the coins of the Yaudheyas are seen wearing necklaces[5] (**Pl. VI.** figs. 12, 13).

The Indo-Parthian coins have torque (**Pl. VI.** fig. 14) depicted on them. According to Marshall, it was worn as a mark of distinction by the Medaes, the Persians and the Parthians, all of whom were of the same Iranien stock.[6] Three varieties of torque have been found in the excavations at Taxila.[7] It has been rightly observed that the torque is rather rare on the Gupta Coins.[8]

The Kushāṇa rulers are sometimes seen wearing a heavy necklace.[9]

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[1] *JNSI*, XIV, pl. I, 1, 2.

[2] Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, p. 70, pl. VI, 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, pl. VI, 1-2, 5, 7.

[4] Cunnigham describes it a 'large-ear ring', *Ibid* p. 110, pl. VII, 10.

[5] Allan, *op. cit.*, Pl. XL, 1-6.

[6] Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. II, *Minor Antiquities*, 1951, p. 635; See *BMC*, pp. 109, 10, 13, pl. XXIII, 8-10, 12, *PMC*, Pls. XV, 59, XVII, i-ii.

[7] Marshall describes them in following way : (a) Hollow gold torque of beaten sheet of gold on a core of lac, with trumped shaped ends in front. It is composed of two semicircles united at the narrow ends of a tenon-and-socket hinge and provided with a push-fastner at the expanded ends : (b) Torque of beaten gold on core of lac. It is made in one piece with expanded ends. The thickness of the tube increases gradually from back to front. The ends are closed with separate disks of beaten gold; (c) Torque of solid gold. (Marshall, *op. cit.*, pp. 635-36, nos. 144, 146, 147.).

[8] *JNSI*, XXXV, p. 191, cf. *BMCGD*, pl. III, 11.

[9] *JNSI*, vol. XXII, p. 97, pl. II, 1, 1 A.

Pearled or beaded necklaces are seen on the coins of the Indo-Parthians[1] and the Guptas.[2]

The Goddess on the reverse of the horseman type of Skandagupta wears *ekavali* with *tauka*.[3] The figures of the Little Kushaṇas[4] and the Hūṇa[5] rulers are also shown wearing pearled-necklace.

Armlet

Armlets are seen worn both by men and women. On coins preceding those of the Guptas, we do not come across human figures wearing armlet. On a few specimens of the Gupta coins, it is one-pearled string,[6] sometimes ornamented[7] (**Pl.VI.** fig. 15). A two stringed armlet is also seen on the Gupta coins.[8]

Bangle

Bangles on the wrists of the human figures are to be seen on the coins of the Kuṇindas,[9] the Yaudheyas[10] (**Pl. VI.** fig. 16) and the Guptas[11] (**Pl. VI.** fig. 17). In the Ajanta paintings, we get single as well as double wristlets.[12] In some cases, thewrist is adorned with as many as six bengles with two extra larger ones in the beginning and in the end.[1] But, due to smallness of the space, it is difficult to tell the exact number of bangles appearing on the coins.

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[1] *BMC*, Pl. XXXII, 10.

[2] *BMCGD*, Pls. I, 1-4, 8, 11-13; II, 6-7, 9-10, 14; III, 14-15; IV, 8, 11, 13-14, 16; V, 2-8; VI; VII, 1, 2, 8-10; VIII, 1-3, 5, 7-10, 12; IX, 11-13, XI, 1-2; XII; XIII; XV; XIX; XXII; XXIII, 1-9. According to R. Govindachandra it is *ekavali, op. clt.*, p. 78.

[3] Govindachandra, R., *op. cit.*, p. 81; cf. *CGE*, Pl. XIV. XV.

[4] Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythian* Pl. VI, 1-2, 5-7.

[5] *Ibid.*, Pls. VII, 1-5, 10 to 15; VIII, 3, 4, 14-15, 17.

[6] *BMCGD*, Pls. I, 1, 12: II, 1f4, 6.7; III, 11-12; VI, 1-6, 12-14, 16-18. The goddesses also wear the same variety, *Ibid,* pls. VI, 10-14; VII, 1-10, and 13, 15, 17. See also pl. VII, 1-13, 15-17; VIII to X; XIII; XV; XIX; XXII and XXIII. for king's armlet.

[7] *Ibid.*, Chandragupta, II on lion-slayer type of coins, pls. IX, 11-12; 3, X, 9 XII' 7-16 and 18.

[8] *Ibid.*, pls, XV, 13-14; XII, 2-3, 7, XIII, 1-5: XIV. 6-7.

[9] Allan, *op. cit.*, pl. XXII, 1-2.

[10] *Ibid.*, pl. XL, 1, 2-6, 9-Here god Karttikeya and the goddess both wear it.

[11] *BHC*, Pls. I, 4, 15-17; 6-14; III, 1-2, 6 and 10-15; IV; V, 1-5 and 8, 9-14; VI, 1-7; VII, XXIII.

[12] Griffiths, *Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajanta*, 47, 48, 50, 51; cf. Saletore, *Life in the Gupta Age*, p. 426.

Girdle

It appears only on the Gupta coins, which show double-stringed beaded or pearled girdles.[2] (**Pl. VII.** fig. 1). A three-stringed girdle can also be traced in a few of them.[3] Three-and four-stringed girdles may be be seen in Mathura sculptures.[4] In Ajanta paintings, the girdle is usually broad with four strands or one solid belt[5] and is worn both by men and women.

Anklet

Its depiction occurs on tribal coins. The goddess on the coins of Kuṇinda[6] (**Pl. VII**. fig. 2) and Mathura[7] wear heavy round anklets. Heavy round anklets are also to be seen in Mathura sculplures.[8]

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[1] Griffiths *op. cit*, 47 48. 55; cf. Saletore, *loc. cit.*,

[2] *BHC*, pl. IXIV, 6-8.

[3] *Ibid.*, pls. XXII, 12, 14, 15; XXVIII, 8, 9, 16, XXXI, 14.

[4] Archaeological Museum Lucknow, *J. 584* (1st. century B. C.)—Three-stringed girdle and *J. 274* (2nd. century A. D.)—four-stringed girdle; B. 57, (1st. century, A. D.)—four stringed girdle.

[5] Griffiths, *op. cit.*, 65.

[6] Allan, *op. cit.*, pls. XXII, 2, 4, 5, 7, 15; XXIII, 1, 3, and 4.

[7] *Ibid.*, pl. XXIV, 1, 3, 6, 9-11 and 14.

[8] See *Archaeological Museum Lucknow*, Brahmanical Gallery, Nos. *J. 274*; *B 734*; *B 91*; *B 92*; and *B 57*.

COMPARTMENTED SEALS FROM THE QUETTA VALLEY (BALUCHISTAN)

MOHD. NASEEM

The early Bronze Age society was becoming complex economically and culturally. The changing pattern oi every day life of the people necessitated the emergence of seals. It seems that the model of seals was found in the amulets which had significant importance in the Late Chalcolithic times. In ancient world, when people were illiterate, the seals were possibly indispensable objects in all kinds of social and economic relationships, and implied a signature or mark of ownership. The importance of seals may be guessed from their occurrence in abundance and in a very wide area from Egypt to the Indus basin. The seals are of various types, e. g. cylindrical, squarish and circular and were made of pot-stone, soapstone, bronze and, to a lesser degree, ceramics, alabaster, lapislazuli, etc. The designs were made by removing the unwanted material with the help of nail or pointed objects, but in the case of hard stones they were prepared by drilling a series of small holes very close to each other, so as to produce an impression of linear continuity. The seals of metals were possibly made with the help of special moulds. A seal is called 'compartmented' when it is divided into two or more parts.

The earliest settlements lie in the north, central and probably southern Baluchistan. In this arid region, there are traces of early settlements. In the north they are particularly common in the Quetta Valley, and to the east in the valleys of the Loralai and Zhob rivers. Many excavated sites are not lacking in compartmented seals, which, however, are reported from Damb Sadaat and recently excavated site Mehrgarh.

Damb Sadaat is a site some 15 kms. from Kile Gul Mohammad in the district of Quetta. The excavations have revealed three successive periods. Two compartmented seals or stampers have been recovered from this site. The seals consist of a simple cross design at the centre with the remainder of the area being quartered. On the larger seal the notches are cut into the circumference. The smaller seal is reported from Damb Sadaat II level cut 1 (c. 2250 B. C.), and the larger is found in Damb Sadaat III level cut 3 (c. 2200 B. C.).[1] The seals show very close resemblance with the seals recovered from Mundigak.

Another newly excavated site in Baluchistan is Mehrgarh, from where such compartmented seals are brought to our notice. Mehrgarh is situated in the north of the Kachi plain, at the foot of the Bolan Pass, one of the main routes connecting the high land plateau of Central Asia with the alluvial plains of the Indus river system. The occupational deposits are divided into seven continuous periods.

At this site the compartmented seals are recovered from Periods IV, V, VI and VII. The seals of Period IV are of terracotta and bone.[2] The seals bear very simple linear motifs. The nature of the seals of Period V is unknown, but those of Period VI are made of terracotta and stone).[3] The seals of Period VII are of terracotta and are flat with two suspension holes. They are in the same tradition as those of Period VI. One of the seals has the shape of *swastiaka.* A circular square seal bears cruciform motifs and has pierced boss back. These seals are very similar in shape and design to the seals reported from Damb Sadaat and Mundigak.

Apart from Baluchistan, the compartmented seals with linear motifs have also been found in other parts of the world, e. g. Afghanistan, Iran and Soviet Central Asia.

Afghanistan

Numerous seals are reported from the excavated sites in Afghanistan, e. g. Mundigak, Deh Morasi Ghundai and Said Kala Tepe.

Mundigak

A solitary example of compartmented seal with linear motifs and made of steatite is found in Period II_2. The number of seals increases in Period III_6, but they are rarely found in the earlier phases of Period III_4 and IX_5. Most of these seals are rectangular with two central perforations. Identical seals of bone are noticed in Periods III_5 and III_6. A significant increase in seals occurs in Period IV which is also distinguished by the introduction of several new geometric shapes. The most significant change is the formation of notches in the outer circumference of the seals. A single seal belonging to Period V has been discovered.[1] The seals are very much similar to the seals from Baluchistan.

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[1] Fairservis, W. A., *Excavations in the Quetta Valley, West Pakistan*, Vol. 45, Part II., NeW York, 1956, p. 299.

[2] Jarrige, J. F., and Meadow, R. H., *Scientific American*, Vol. 243, No. 2, 1980, p. 130.

[3] Jarrige, J. F. and Lechevallies, M., *South Asiod Archaeology*, Naples, 1977, p. 50.

Deh Morasi Ghundai

Three fragments of greyish steatite compartmented seals have been discovered from Period II (3000-2000 B. C.). The seals produce geometrical motifs.[2] Period II is divided into three phases termed as a, b, c. The seals are reported from Period IIa and IIc. A copper compartmented seal found in a disturbed area probably belongs to Period III (after 2000 B. C.). A fragment of a perforated boss is found on the back.[3]

These seals have many counterparts at Mundigak and Dam Sadaat.

Said Kala Tepe

A beautifully carved stone seal, shaped like a solid square or cross with stepped sides has been reported from the upper level, where date is uncertain[4].

Iran

Many archaeological sites in Iran have yielded compartmented seals. They are found in large numbers. They are reported from the following sites :

Shaha-Sokhta

Generally the seals are made of steatite and copper and occasionally of alabaster, lapislazuli and clay. The seals are reported from Periods II-III (2800-2100 B. C.). The seals bear geometric lines intersecting to form stepped multiple crosses or inlaid patterns. The seals are rectangular, circular and squarish. The circumferences are smooth but a few of them have notches. The seals bear two holes for suspension.[5]

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[1] Casal, J. M., *Fouilles de Mundigak*, Vol. I, Paris, 1961, pp. 256-7.

[2] Dupree, L., *Anthropological Papers of American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. 50, New York, 1963, p. 99

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 114.

[4] Fairservis, W. A., *The Roots of Ancient India*, London, 1971, p. 122.

[5] Tosi, M., *East and West*, Vol. 19, Rome, 1969, p. 375.

Bampur

A metal compartmented seal has been discovered from Period IV, which can be matched with Mundigak seals.[1]

Hissar

The compartmented seals are reported from Hissar I, IIA, IIB and IIIB.[2] They are circular with very simple linear designs or motifs.

Soviet Central Asia

In Soviet Central Asia, the compartmented seals of clay and stone are reported from Kara Depe of Namazga III (3200 B. C.). The seals bear simple geometric designs of crosses and stepped motifs. They carry the perforations at the back.[3]

Thus we see that the compartmented seals are reported from a very wide area, Afghanistan, Iran and Soviet Central Asia. The seals are generally made of stone and clay, rarely of metals. They have a significant resemblance with little regional modifications or variations. They have two holes on the back for suspension. In earlier specimens the edge of the seal is smooth, but in the later ones it becomes notched. Though there is little variation in the designs on the seals, the main theme of the division of the seals continues to occur in all the sites. The technique of making designs is the same throughout the region. The seals might have been used for commercial purposes. The common features of the seals indicate that some sort of a generic relation was maintained among these sites. Chronologically all these sites belong to the third millennium B. C. This was a period of a large scale movement of early farming tribes grouped around the Indo-Iranian borderlands. The wide diffusion of compartmented seals, probably in the same chronological horizon, in Baluchistan, Afghanistan, Iran and Soviet Central Asia suggests the existence of a very wide cultural interaction. The link of communication facilitated the exchange not only of goods but also of ideas. The exchanges are reflected in the similar types of artifacts 'compartmented seals'.

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1. De Cardi, B., *Iran*, Vol. 6, London, 1968, p. 148.
2. Piggott, S., *Antiquity*, Vol. 17, 1943, Combridge, p. 180.
3. Masson, V. M., *Antiquity*, Vol. 36, 1961, Cambridge, p. 210.

A general similarity in such stylistic features as compartmented seals need not necessarily imply contemporaneity; it may mean a relationship in which one culture is genetically connected with another at some remote period of time. In the present state of our knowledge it cannot be located easily. But it seems that the idea of 'compartmented' seals infiltrated from Southern Turkmenia to Southern Afghanistan from where it possibly travelled to Seistan (Shahr-i-Sokhta). In this process some people must have moved in the Quetta Valley Baluchistan, from Mundigak (South Afganistan). Further excavations or researches may throw light on this vital matter.

NON-DESTRUCTIVE ANALYSIS OF SOUTH INDIAN PANAMS

V. JEYARAJ

(Pls. VII. 3 & VIII. 1a-1b)

The coins and their study play a prominant role in the reconstruction of history. The metals or the alloys used for minting the coins give an idea about the economic condition of the time at which the coins were issued and the type of coin tells about the dynasty to which the coin is attributed. In South India the large use of coins of different metals like gold, silver, copper, lead and other alloys with various sizes and shapes has come to light as lot of coins are being received through Treasure Trove. Usually hoard of coins are found in metal container with a hinged lid. The Government Museum, Madras has a collection of over 8000 gold coins, especially South Indian Panams. This collection is being made only through Treasure Troves. The coins on receipt are normally found covered with calcarions materials, silicious materials or by the alteration products of the containers in which the coins are found eventhough gold does not corred as such. Such coins are cleaned and preserved for study and further research. As the gold content of the South Indian panams was not known, four coins of a particular variety were selected at random for finding out the composition and hence the parity of gold in the coins.

By far as the particulars of the coins are concerned, the size of the South Indian panams is very small with a diameter of about 4 to 5 mm, 1mm. thickness and a weight of about 350 to 400 m. gms. In this particular variety of coins there is a symbol on one side and some inscription on the other (Pl. VIII. 1a-1b). The tiny gold coins are dull gold in colour. The period of issue of the coins is not known but supposed to be of seventeenth century A. D. by numismatists.

The coins were cleaned with Teepol in water and then with hot distilled water. Four coins were subjected to specific gravity measurements in order to find out the gold content. Usually gold coins consist of gold and silver. Using this idea the percentage purity of gold by specific gravity measurements was found to be about 68 to 85. Since the assumption that the coins consist of only gold and silver was wrong, it was proposed to go for sophisticated non-destructive analysis. The coin was first subjected to Electron Scanning Microscope and the various elements present in the coin were detected. Although this technique is considered to be non-destructive, infact, this method is also destructive but the loss of materials will be a few microns which cannot be noticed or measured. When the coin was examined the peaks representing the various elements present in the coin were visible in the screen (Pl. VII. 3). The various elements detected by this technique are gold, silver, copper, zinc and the presence of chloride is indicated which may be due to the conversion of silver of the coin by chloride in the soil or atmosphere. Slight white patches on some parts of the coins observed might be due to the silver chloride.

The coin was mounted in an Electron Micro Probe Analyser using aluminium paint as an adhesive. About seven different points on the surface of the coins were subjected to the electron beam and the concentration of the various detected elements were obtained. Since the percentage of each element differed from point to point the average of the seven values was taken as the actual value, in each coin examined.

Coin No.	Gold	Silver	Copper	Zinc	Total
1.	68	17.3	13.9	Tr.	99.2
2.	74	13.3	81.9	Tr.	99.2

It was found that the percentage of each element differed from point to point on the surface and also coin to coin, This nonuniformity might be due to surface reaction due to age or improper mixing of the various metals during the minting of the coins. The size and shape reveals that the minting is not uniform. To arrive at a firm conclusion one has to analyse more number of these coins by non-destructive analysis.

My tanks are due to Thiru N. Harinarayana, Director of Museums, Government Museum, Madras for his constant encouragement and valuable suggestions in this work. My thanks are also due to the Reactor Research Centre, Kalpakkam in carrying out the analysis and to my collegues who helped directly and indirectly in this work.

NUMISMATIC NOTES

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

I. Coin of Apilaka

K. N. Dikshite, who published the solitary coin of this ruler from Balpur in Raigarh district of Madhya Pradesh,[1] naturally attributed it to the Āndhra-Sātavāhana monarch whose name is variously given in the Purāṇas as Divilaka *(Vishṇu)*, Chivilaka *(Bhāgavata)*, Apīlavā *(Vāyu)*, Apīlaka (*Matsya*) and Āpīlaka (*Brahmāṇḍa*) and who is reported to have had a short reign of twelve years.[2] He was, however, led on stylistic grounds to class it with the later coins of the dynasty and dated it to sometime at the end of the second or the beginning of the third century A.D.[3] It may be pointed out in this connection that stylistic grounds cannot be regarded as a conclusive evidence for determining the date of an object, more so of a coin, unless it is backed by some other evidence. And in the present case the Purāṇic evidence, which has generally proved to be correct in so far as the general chronological order of the Āndhra-Sātavāhana kings is concerned, clearly indicates for the issuer of this coin a place in the early history of the dynasty.[4] Then again, simply because the only known coin of this chief comes from the Raigarh region it need not necessarily be taken to indicate that its issuer was a local chief of 'an independent principality at the north-easternmost limit of the Andhra empire', as held by Dikshit.[5] We must await further evidence before we arrive at such a conclusion. The importance of the discovery primarily lies in the fact that it affords the first archaeological confirmation of the Purāṇic evidence and proves the correctness of the *Matsya* and *Brahmāṇḍa* tradition about the spelling of the name of the king in question.

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1. *Numismatic Supplement*. XLVII, pp. 93-94.
2. E. J. Rapson, *BMC, AWK*, etc., Introduction, p. lxvi.
3. *Numismatic Supplement*, XLVII, pp. 93 and 94.
4. In the longer *Matsya* list of the Andhra kings he is given the eighth place. *Vide* Rapson, *op. cit*, Introduction, p. lxvi.
5. *Numismatic Supplement*, XLVII, p. 94. Coins are known to have been found at places far away from the dominions of the issuing chief.

Some scholars have, however, recently raised doubts about the attribution of this coin. P. L. Gupta thinks that the king's name on the coin is Sāpilaka and not Āpilaka. This contention is based on the ground that 'nowhere in Sātavāhana numismatics *siri* is used in genitive'.[1] I. K. Sharma is also of the same opinion though he gives no evidence in support of his view.[2] Altekar[3] and M. R. Rama Rao[4] refer to some coins with the legends *Raño Vāsiṭhiputasa Sivasirisa* and *Raño Sivasirisa* respectively as hailing from Āndhradeśa. However, as we have shown elsewhere,[5] the coins alluded to by the former are really those with incomplete legends attributed by E. J. Rapson to Vāsishthīputra' Śivaśrī Sātakarṇi[6] while those Rama Rao had in mind really do not appear to exist.[7] It has, therefore, to be admitted that the honorific *siri* (or *sivasiri* as in the present case) is not known to have been used in genitive singular on any of the numerous Sātavāhana specie reported so far except the one under consideration. But this fact alone cannot justify the creation of an otherwise unknown ruling chief. The fact that the Pruāṇas mention a king named Āpīlaka[8] while no chief of the name Sāpilaka is known to literature or epigraphy should justifiably lead us to the conclusion that the designer of the coin in question employed, by oversight perhaps, the genitive singular case ending *sa* after the honorific *sivasiri* (Skt. *śivaśrī*) and again joined it to the king's name that followed according to the *sandhi* rules. Alternatively, he may have done it deliberately with the object of grammaticising the legend by giving the qualifying adjective the same case ending as used with the following substantive that it qualifies.[1] We are, therefore, left with no alternative but to ascribe the coin to Āpilaka.

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[1] Ajay Mitra Shastri (ed.), *Coinage of the Sātavāhanas and Coins fromExcavations*, p. 49.

[2] *Coinage of the Sātavāhana Empire* (Delhi, 1980), p. 14 He goes to the extent of taking Sapilaka to be the correct form of the name of the chief mentioned under Apilaka and other variants in the Puranas.

[3] G. Yazdani (ed.), *Early History of the Deccan.*

[4] *Sātavāhana Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum*, p. 20.

[5] In my paper 'Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi' under publication in *S. R. Rao Falicitation Volume.*

[6] *BMC, AWK*, etc., p. 29.

[7] No such coin is actually listed in his *Sātavāhana Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum.*

[8] It need hardly be stressed that all the other variant readings of the name are based on this name.

II. Wategaon Hoard : Coins of Vasishthiputra Sivasri Pulumavi

V. V. Mirashi published a hoard of Sātavāhana lead coins from Wategaon in the Satara district of Maharashtra.[2] It contained 369 coins of Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi and 191 coins of Vāsishṭhīputra Skanda Sātakarṇi. All the coins are of the Elephant-Ujjain Symbol type. On the coins of Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi the animal on the obverse faces sometimes left while on some coins one of the orbs of the Ujjain symbol is crescented. Mirashi took Śivaśrī to be just an honorific and identified Vāsishthīputra Śivaśrī Pulumāvi of these coins with Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, son and successor of Gautamīputra Sātakarni.[3] He further proposed to interpret the inclusion of his coins in the hoard as indicating that 'the region of Kuntala, in which Wategaon is situated, was first brought under the control of the Sātavāhanas in the reign of Puḷumāvi' (i. e. Vasishṭhīputra Puḷumavi).[4] This view is, however, opposed to all the extant evidence, literary, epigraphic and numismatic. According to the dynastic text of the Purāṇas, Gautamīputra was succeeded by his son Pulomā and the latter by Śivaśrī Pulomā. A single *Vāyu* maunscript, however, inserts a Sātakarṇi before Śivaśrī Pulomā.[5] The combined evidence of the Purāṇas, thus, indicates the following order of succession after Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi : Pulomā—Sātakarṇi—Śivaśrī Pulomā.[6a] These chiefs can be easily identified with Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi and Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi of coins and inscriptions. It would, thus, follow that the Purāṇas make distincion between Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi and Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Pulumāvi. The distinction is supported by inscriptions also which mention them separately.[1] And the point is finally proved by the recent discovery of a couple of silver portrait coins of Vāsishthīputra Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi, one in a private collection at Indore and the other found in archaeological excavations at Dhulikatta in the Karimnagar district of Andhra Pradesh,[2] the bust on the obverse of which is physiognomically different from that noticed on the silver coins of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi. This shows once for all that the kings responsible for issuing the two sets of coins were distinct from each other and that they cannot be equated any longer. Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Sātakarṇi in whom Mirashi looked for Śivaśrī of the Purāṇas is not vouched for by the coins attributed to him by Rapson,[3] for these coins with incomplete legends without any trace of the last word (*Sātakaṇisa*) visible on any of them really seem to belong to Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi. Similarly, the potin coins of the Tarhala hoard with the legend *raño Sivasiri Puḷumāvisa* must also be attributed to him.[4] We may thus conclude that lead coins with the legend *Raño Vāsiṭhiputasa Sivasiri Puḷumāvisa* in the Wategaon hoard also belong to Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Pulumāvi and not to Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi. It would thus follow that the hoard contains coins of Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi and Vāsishṭhīputra Skanda Sātakarṇi. In view of the above, the hoard cannot be taken to suggest that the Wategaon region was first brought under the Sātavāhanas during Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi's reign. On the other hand, if any historical conclusion is to be drawn from the constitution of the hoard, the event will have to be dated during the time of Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi. Secondly, the contents of the hoard do not lend support to the theory of a division of the Sātavāhana dominions between Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi and Skanda Sātakarṇi[5] whose reigns were separated from each other by the intervening reign of Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi.

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[1] Dikshit thought that the use of the genetive after *Sivasiri* shows that it was regarded as an epithet rather than part of his regular name. *Numismatic Supplement*, XLVII, p. 94.

[2] *JNSI*, XXXIV, pp. 205-210, Pl. x.6-15.

[3] *Ibid.*, XXXI, pp. 151-154; XXXIV, pp. 208ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 210.

[5] F. E. Pargiter, *ThePurāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 42.

[6a] This order of succession is suggested by the evidence of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* also which mentions a Sātakarṇi before Śivaśrī. See *Ibid.*, p. 42, fn. 1.

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1. A recently discovered Vanavasi (North Canara District, Karnataka) inscription refers to Vāsishṭhīputra Śivasrı Puḷumāvi *Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, I, pp. 34-39) while we have quite a few inscriptions of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi.
2. *The Journal of the Academy of Indian Numismatics and Sigillography*, pp. 6ff.; *Andhra Pradesh Journal of Archaeology*, I, Part II, pp. 105-1140.
3. *BMC, AWK*, etc., p. 29.
4. *JNSI*, II, pp. 88-89, Pl. VIII. 13-14. Śivaśrī, Puḷumāvi's coins appear to have been included in the Chanda (Brahmapuri) hoard also. See *Numismatic Supplement*, XLV, Article 318.
5. *JNSI*, p. 212.

REVIEW

Studies in South Indian History and Epigraphy, Vol. I, by K. G. Krishnan, Published by the New Era Publications, Madras, 1981, pp. 184. Price Rs 70.

Papers from the pen of reputed scholars, published in journals and compilations, are source of valuable informations and inspiration for researchers. But such papers are, at times, not easily available to them, when they need. As such collection of papers by any author, is a great relief. Here is a book of the same kind.

It is a collection of eighteen papers from the pen of K. G. Krishnan, who is well known as the Epigraphist of the Government of India and for his knowledge and deep insight into South Indian epigraphy. These papers are his epigraphic studies and relate to South Indian history and culture. They cover quite wide area comparising of architecture, iconography, linguistics, palaeography, astrology, numismatics, political history and the like. Since they are based on facts culled from the epigraphic sources, they need no comment in general.

But being a numismatist, I would like to refer to one of his papers, which is a small one. It deals with the coinage of ancient Tamilnadu, and contains some good informations about coining, quality of metal, weight, value and mentions some coin-terms. But mentioning the coin-terms, that the author has noticed in inscriptions, he has made a most surprising statement. He says that the inscriptions have some Greek and Roman coin-names. He cites *Dinar* and *Diramam.*

It needs no say that the way the coin-terms are found mentioned in inscriptions, indicate those coins that were current at the time when the inscriptions were drafted and thus they were contemporary. And, according to the author's own admission in this very paper, no information is available in the south Indian inscriptions relating to currency prior to the seventh century A. D. As such, the two terms referred by the author in the paper, would only be the names of the contemporary coins.

It is well known that Greek coins were never current in South India in any period. In North India, they were shortlived during a few centuries before the beginning of the Christian era. It is therefore quite apparant that by *Diramam* in the South Indian inscriptions, the Greek *drachm* was never meant. *Diramam* was derived from *Drachm* or not, is in no way our concern here. I mean to point out that the term either meant here *drumma*, which was a quite popular Indian coin at this period or it might be referring to the Muslim *Dirham*, which were brought into India by the Arab traders at this very period. Several hoards of these coins are known from the western coast, spread from north to south.

Similarly, *Dinar*, no doubt has its derivation in the Roman *denarius*, which was a silver coin. *Dinar* in the Indian context, meant gold coin and was freely used as synonym for *suvarna* from the Gupta period and continued even in the Muslim period.

Apart from this there are many good and learned articles which need no comments because Shri Krishnan is a well established author and has equal cammond over a variety of subjects on Indian history and culture. It is hoped that the book will be welcomed by the scholars and the general readers alike.

The general formate of the book is good.

P. L. Gupta

The Coins and Banknotes of Burma, by M. Robinson and L. A. Shaw. Published by the authors, Manchester, England, pp. 160; plates 14. Price not mentioned,

Exhaustive books on the coins and paper money for different countries and areas, in popular style are essential for the collectors, if not for the scholars, to keep their interest alive. The publication of this book on Burmese numismatics, is meant to fulfill this need. That way we welcome the publication.

The authors claim that this book has its origin in the articles. written by them over many years in *Coins and Medals* and for the Oriental Numismatic Society. But frankly speaking, the book is merely a compilation of all that was said and written earlier, without taking into account the latest researches; it does not bear out any original contribution. Never-the-less, to put the scattered information at one place has its own merit; but at the same time it runs the risk of misleading the readers in absence of any proper assessment of the materials. As such, this book may be used only cautiously.

To Indian readers, interest in this book lies, not only because Burma was in the recent past an integral part of India and both the countries had almost the same currency. Their interest in it is more for the reason that the early coinage that was current in Arakan was greatly influenced by India; and were almost Indian in their symbology. But unfortunately, the chapters relating to these coins are based on A. B. Phayre's '*The Coins of Arakan, of Pegu and of Burma*' published in 1882, and R. C. Temple's '*Notes on Currency and Coinage among the Burmese*' published in 1897-98. For the latest informations, the authors have relied on M. Mitchiner's *Oriental Coins and their Values*, which by itself is a mere compilation mixed with author's own ideas and imaginations and is not very much dependable.

Under the caption 'Early Burma : The First Millenium', the authors have described the coinage of three dynasties : (i) the Pyus, whose territory (according to the authors) covered the Irrawaddy valley from about the 500 B. C. to 900 A. D.; (ii) the Mons, who lived in south Burma and had spread to Menan valley in Thailand from about the third century B. C. to the ninth century A. D.; and (iii) the Chandra dynasty of Arakan on the west coast of Burma from the fourth century A. D. to the eighth century A. D. All the coins, attributed to the first two dynasties are uninscribed; the coinage of the third is said to be inscribed and uninscribed both.

To the Pyus three types of coins are assigned here as follows : (i) *Damarū* (authors identify it as *Bhadrapīṭha*) on one side and *Śrīvatsa* on the other; (ii) *Chakra* (wheel) on one side and *Śrīvatsa* on the other; and (iii) Sun on one side and *Śrīvatsa* on the other. Likewise, the Mons are said to have issued coins of four types : (i) *Śaṅkha* on one side and *Śrīvatsa* on the other; (ii) *Chakra* (wheel) on one side and *Śrīvatsa* on the other; (iii) deer walking right on one side and degenerated *Śrīvatsa* (in the words of authors *Śrīvatsa* temple containing thunderbolt and other ancillary symbols) on the other; and (iv) *Śaṅkha* on one side and symbol as on type iii on the other. To the Chandras of Arakan are attributed only one type of uninscribed coins and it has *Śaṅkha* on the obverse and *Srīvatsa* with clusters of dots around on the other.

The authors do not assign any period to these types, within the dynasties. As they have placed them, it appears that all these types were simultaneously current and were issued by all the three dynasties in one and the same period.

No numismatist would agree that any of these types of coins were current as early as 500 B. C., the earliest date attributed to Pyus. Those who have the least knowledge of the South Indian numismatics, would not hesitate in recognising the *Damarū/Śrivatsa* type coins as having their origin in the uninscribed *Damarū/Śrīvatsa* type coins of South India, attributable to second-first century B. C. If the coins of this type were issued by the Pyus in the Irrawaddy valley, they would have been issued only in this period or after this period, as the out-come of the maritime contacts with South India.

According to the typological chronology, *Damarū/Śrīvatsa* type coins of Pyus would be the earliest; it was followed by the Sun/*Śrīvatsa* type; and last was the *Chakra* (wheel)/*Śrīvatsa* type. And this last i. e. the *Chakra* (wheel)/*Śrīvatsa* type coins of Pyus was copied or continued by the Mons, if they succeeded the former in any area of the Irrawaddy valley. Their next cointype was *Śaṅkha/Śrīvatsa.* In course of time, the *Śrīvatsa* of this coin-type degenerated and took the shape, which has been described by the authors as *Śrīvatsa-temple* with thunderbolt etc. And with this later degenerated type of *Śrīvatsa*, a new type was introduced by Mons replacing the *Śankha* with a deer. With this typo-chronology, it is difficult to believe that the rulers of the Chandra dynasty, if they succeeded the Mons, had issued their coins of *Śaṅkha/Śrīvatsa* variety, ignoring deer/*Śrīvatsa* type, the latest type of the Mons. If the Chandras actually issued the *Śaṅkha/Śrīvatsa* variety, it means that they had occupied the Mon territory when this type coins of the latter was current and the Mons issued Deer/*Srīvatsa* type in the area that they retained. To explain otherwise would mean that this type was not issued by the Chandras at all. They are the exclusive type of the Mons.

There is not much to comment on the inscribed coins of the Chandra dynasty, except that the authors had no reason to attribute the Harikela coins to the Chandra rulers of Arakan. No doubt, these coins bear the same obverse and reverse motifs as seen on the Chandra coins; but this does not mean that they necessarily belong to the Chandras; or if they belonged to the Chandras, they were issued in Arakan. These coins have lately been found in excavations in Bangladesh and several alticles have been published about them. Harikela has been identified as a place name and located in the vicinity of Chitagong. Mitchiner has rightly excluded these coins from those of Arakan. If the authors disagreed with Mitchiner, whom, they have other wise followed blindly, they should have explained their reason.

The most astounding statement in the book is that the Calcutta mint produced for the king Bodawpaya (Accession 1782 A. D.)uninscribed silver coins bearing the *Damarū/Śrīvatsa* symbols, the same as were issued by the Pyus in second-first century B. C. Authors have said so on the authority of earlier writers like Phayre, Pamela Gutman and Mitchiner. But it is unthinkable that any coin, issued two thousand years earlier would have been re-issued for currency. We believe, if they were actually issued, they were some kind of token or commemorative issues. They need investigations.

Lastly, it is painful to say that the authors are not fully conversant even about the facts of the recent past. To cite an instance, the authors say that Government of India Notes were issued from the Rangoon circle in 1883 (p. 102), which is not the fact. Burma was outside the scope of Indian Paper money, till the Act XX of 1882 was passed. Even after that not until February 24, 1893 Burma had its own currency circle. It is only after this date Government of India notes bearing the circle name Rangoon were issued.

Any way, this is a welcome publication which coveres in detail the currencies of Bnrma and Arakan. The book is fulley illustrated with more than 300 black and white photographs of coins on the pages of text and 116 colour and 15 black-and-white photographs of banknotes in plates at the end alongwith two maps. There are two appendices and a comprehensive bibliography which has enhanced the value of the work. The Indian readers will also find it of great interest and use.

T. P. Verma

PROCEEDINGS

The 68th Annual Conference of the Society was held at Pune on the 2nd, 3rd & 4th June 1981.

The Inagural Session took place in the hall of the Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandala at 6.30 P. M. The Session started with the Welcome Address by Prof. G. H. Khare, the Direclor of the Mandala, which is as follows :

It is my pleasant duty to welcome all of you, Sirs, who have come here to attend the 68th Session of the Numismatic Society of India. I know, some of you have come after a long and tedious journey of several hours in this hot season. You will find it a little bit pleasant here, although not as much as expected as the weather has not changed much owing to the late arrival of the monsoon. Members of the Society would perhaps remember that we had met in Pune in 1963, but it was along with the session of the Indian History Congress. If I remember correctly. when we had met at Gauhati alongwith the session of the All India Oriental Conference in 1965 we decided to hold our Sessions independently. We are doing so since. However, we have to face some difficulties.

In the first place, the number of numismatists is comparatively small and secondly they get divided in three places. The Oriental Conference continued to entertain papers on numismatics. The Indian History Congress also has included in its sections one which deals with epigraphy, numismatics etc. This threefold division of numismatists, whose number, as I have said earlier, is small, may be the main reason why the response to the Numismatic Society of India Sessions is not as satisfactory as one may wish. I would therefore appeal to both the Indian History Congress as well as to the All India Oriental Conference to exclude both epigraphy and numismatics from their deliberations, so that the epigraphic and numismatic conferences could play their rightful role. I may further point out that the number of papers that are received in their respective sections by both these bodies is so large that it becomes impossible to do justice to all of them. We are obliged to request every contributor to give a brief summary of his paper and then finish up the matter with a short discussion on it. This is no justice to the paper. By excluding these topics, the pressure on these two conferences will be reduced and contributors to numismatics and epigraphy will get sufficient time to read and discuss their papers. And by doing so at least the History Congress does not stand to loose anything. In its recent meeting held in New Delhi on the 19th and 20th of May 1981, the Indian Historical Records Commission has suggested a very appropriate substitute. It has suggested to the History Congress that it may institute a section dealing solely with original records. If such steps are taken by both these larger bodies, the epigraphic and numismatic conferences would get far more contributors and would become more meaningful.

There is another problem to which I would like to draw the attention of the delegates. Now-a-days, especially in the big cities, the number of coins that come for sale is so great that a numismatist does not know what to do with them. In Pune itself, I know a scrap-dealer who collects two to three thousand copper coins every week and as there are no customers to purchase them, he has to send them for melting. If a numismatist wishes to examine two to three thousand copper coins, he will be in a fix. Even the most experienced and intelligent numismatist would require two to three days to examine such a big lot. Neither the numismatist has so much time to spare nor can the scrapdealer wait for such a long time, the result is that the coins go to the melting pot. Is there really no way to stop this ? Same is the case with silver coins. If we can find out a remedy, some very highly important coins can be saved. Some urgent concrete steps are needed and the Society should provide some guidance in this respect.

With these words of welcome I now request Hon'ble Shri Jayantrao Tilak to inaugrate the Conference. Shri Jayantrao needs no introduction to the Marathi reading public. For our guests who have come from outside, I shall say a few words. He was the editor of the prestigious *Kesari*. Now he is Minister for Energy and Cultural Affairs in our State Government. He is the caretaker Minister for Pune District. More than that, he is a caretaker of all academic and cultural activities of Maharashtra. Still more important, he is caretaker of this Mandala. It is with his encouragement and active support that we have undertaken a number of projects and programmes. Today's conference is one of them.

I request the Hon'ble Shri Tilak to inaugurate the Conference.

G. H. Khare
Chairman
Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandala,
Pune

June 2, 1981

Then Hon'ble Shri Jayantrao Tilak, Minister for Energy and Cultural Affairs, Government of Maharashtra gave his Inagural Address which is as follows :

I have great pleasure in according you a welcome to this historic city. Pune, as you all know, is a seat of learning and it is only natural that we should be happy to have a gathering of scholars with us.

During the last thirty years it has grown into a big industrial centre. Industries of various types and sizes are springing up around and within Pune. The huge factories and industrial complexes most of you must have noticed around the city symbolise the rapid transformation of this medieval town into a modern industrial city.

Even in this transformation, Pune has not allowed its own preferances to be changed. It continues to value learning and knowledge as before. Perhaps this very consideration has led the government in the post-independence period to locate in Pune a large number of research institutes and centres. There is the National Chemical Laboratory. There is the Central Power and Water Research Station. The emphasis of these new entrants is on the scientific side, in keeping with the requirements of the times. But on the humanities side most of the work is still done by a number of voluntary research societies. They are engaged in the studies on literature, Sanskrit, economics and history. Your host for the present Session is one of the more well known of them. This Mandala has been developed by the late M. M, Potadar and his collegues like its present Chairman, Prof. Khare, in such a manner that no body could, even if he wanted to do it, remain ignorant of the various aspects of history and sources of history. There are old records, manuscripts, sculptures, paintings and of course coins. I am a journalist by profession and it was my business to know more about more things. And I know the Mandala well enough to assure the delegates that in it they have found a very apt host. Another aspect that I wish to bring to your notice is that the Mandala has come up due to the efforts of persons who had undertaken historical researches as a mission in the service of the nation. In fact most of the earlier workers were actively associated with the freedom struggle. And most of them were the followers of Lokamanya Tilak. Lok. Tilak himself had all along evinced keen interest in historical researches and records. People used to bring to him various old documents and among them was one brought by a person from the Jedhe family. This document, commonly known as the 'Jedhe Shakavali' proved to be of extreme importance in determining the date of birth of Shivaji the Great.

I was told of a remarkable coincidence. The Numismatic Society of India was founded in 1910, that is, the same year when the Mandala was founded. The Mandala held its 68th annual gathering only two days ago and now the Society is holding its 68th Annual Session. The work in the field of numismatics that your Society and its members have put up in the last half a century or more is well known and well recognised. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar gave a series of lectures in 1921 on the study of coins. Altekar found the famous Bayana Hoard and with its help has thrown more light on the Gupta period. His discovery of the hoard at Buxar of coins of the Kushana period was also significant as it proved that the Kushanas ruled as far east as Bihar. Prof. Mirashi's contribution to the knowledge of the Satavahana dynasty rests a good deal on the coinage of that dynasty. There are a large number of discoveries and scholars whose names I cannot compress in such a small space. I can only repeat, your Society has made immense contributions to Indology. I must, therefore, tell the Mandala in its turn is extending its hospitality to a very worthy guest.

You would bear with me if I make a few remarks. The importance of the study of coins and coinage has long been recongnised. It has helped to bring some certainty to our knowledge of various kings and dynasties. It has brought to light ones whose very existence we never suspected. Bringing such exactitude to our knowledge of kings and dynasties is quite important. But we must remember that they bring out a vast treasure of information regarding generations and cultures with which they were contemporary. The frequent finds of Roman gold coins coroborate Pliny's reference to the drain on Roma caused by the demand for Indian luxuries. In short, I believe a stage has now come, when the objectives could be broadened. We would perhaps strive to learn something more about the person for whom the coins were meant. After all it was the common man for whose use they were meant. The system of currency, of coinage, of the metals used, all together would reflect most faithfully the economic life of the society. We could learn more about the life and times of Indian society as a whole. I do not imply that this aspect has escaped your attention. Far from it. What I do want to say is that a shift in emphasis is now very much in order. Let your deliberations revolve more round the user of the coin than the one who struck it.

Another point which I wish to stress on this occassion is the need for taking greater interest in medieval times. Most of the rulers of medieval India have struck coins, some of them like the Zodiac coins of Jehangir are indeed works of art. However, the number of persons who could read them is diminishing fast. It is rather strange that at a time when more and more people are taking greater interst in medieval art, espacially painting, the number of those who could understand Persian and Arabic inscriptions on the coins is getting less. This situation, you would agree with me, is not quite healthy. You gentlemen may perhaps give some thought as to how to remedy this situation.

I welcome you all on behalf of the Government of Maharashtra. It has not hesitated to give a helping hand to this important conference by donating a sum of ten thousand ruppees.

With these remarks I declare the conference open and wish you all fruitful deliberations.

* * * *

After this Prof. Lallanji Gopal, the Chairman of the Society, introduced the President of the Session, Prof. V. S. Pathak of Gorakhpur university, who on account of his ill health could not attend the Session. The Presidential Address was read by Prof. A. V. Narasimha Murthy, which has been printed in pages of this volume of the Journal elsewhere. Then the Secretary's Report was read by the General Secretary, Prof. Upendra Thakur which runs as follows :

General Secretary's Report

Dear Members,

I have great pleasure in presenting the Secretary's Report for the year 1980-81. We met last a Bangalore, where the sixty-seventh session of our Society was held on the 27th, 28th & 29th March, 1980 under the auspices of the Mythic Society, Nrupathunga Road, Bangalore—260 002. We are grateful to the organisers. We express our gratitude to Prof. Dr. V. S. Pathak of the University of Gorakhpur for having agreed to provide over this session.

The Society has grown in stature and strength and there has been an appreciable increase in the number of members. There are at present 663 members, the break-up of which is as follows :

Patron	1
Honorary fellow	5
Honorary Member	1
Life Member	150
Ordinary Member	375
Institutional Member	125
Coin Dealer Member	6
TOTAL	663

The Journal of the Society has been made uptodate. Volumes XII (1979) and XIII (1980) are out. The earlier one has been mailed and the later one is in the process of despatch. The next volume for the year 1981 is in the press and is likely to be released soon.

We have published the following volumes in the year 1980 :—

MEMOIRS NO. 7	*Coinage and Economy of North Eastern States of India.* Edited by Dr. J. P. Singh & Dr. Nisar Ahmad.
MEMOIRS NO. 8	*Foreign Influence on Indian and Indigenous Coins.* Edited by Prof. Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri (in press).
MONOGRAPHS NO. 17 Pt I	*Coinage of Tripura.* By Dr. Ramani Mohan Sarma.
MONOGRAPHS NO. 17 Pt II	*Coinage of Bengal and Its Neighbourhood.* Edited by Dr. J. P. Singh.
MONOGRAPHS NO. 18	*A Schema of Indo-Baktrian Coinage.* By Dr. K. Walton Dobbins.

We are receiving grants from the following states :—

1.	Bihar Govt.	1980–81	Rs. 300=00
2.	Gujarat Govt. Received upto	1979–80	Rs. 500=00
3.	Madhya Pradesh Govt.	1980–81	Rs. 300=00
4.	Maharashtra Govt.	1980–81	Rs. 1000=00
5.	Orissa Govt.	1979–80	Rs. 1000=00
6.	Punjab Govt.	1978–79	Rs. 1000=00
7.	Tamilnadu Govt.	1979–80	Rs. 600=00
8.	Uttar Pradesh Govt.	1980–81	Rs. 500=00
9.	Uttar Pradesh State Museum	1980–81	Rs. 500=00
10.	I. C. H. R. for publication of the JNSI Vol. XLII		Rs. 5000=00

Though the above grants are not quite satisfactory, yet we are thankful to the authorities of the above states from whom we are receiving the grants since long. We have approached the following States for renewal of the grants :—

1. Central Government
2. Andhra Pradesh Govt.
3. Himanchal Pradesh
4. Assam
5. Karnatak
6. West Bengal
7. Rajasthan

We are trying to develop the Library & Museum and also to establish a Laboratory for numismatic studies with full facilities to the members.

Due to lack of funds we could not get reprinted the old Memoirs, Monographs and Journals and other publications of the Society.

It is our earnest desire to build up the second storey of the Society but the lack of funds is proving an obstacle in our way.

It is my sincere desire to build up a representative collection of casts and photographs of Indian coins. We, therefore, appeal to our members and all museum authorities to send plaster casts and photographs of the important coins in their collections. We also appeal to the Central and State Governments to ensure that our name is included in the list of institutions entitled to receive coins from treasure-troves.

We have started a VARANASI CHAPTER of Society for the betterment of our Local Members and Coin Dealers, and; its first and second sittings were held in the Society's Hall at 3.00 P.M. on the 9th and 11th April, 1981 respectively under the Chairmanship of Prof. Dr. Lallanji Gopal, the Chairman of the Society. The third meeting was held at the Sampurananda Sanskrit University on 10th May, 1981 under the Chairmanship of the Vice-Chancellor Dr. Gauri Nath Shastri.

We have received so far 238 coins from the Secretary U.P. Coins Committee, State Museum, Lucknow. On behalf of the Society and on my own I extend my sincere thanks to the Committee for their valuable gift to the Society.

We have also received 5 silver coins from Shri K. C. Jaria, 50, Aminabad Park, Lucknow as donation to the Society. We thank him very much for his kind donation.

We appeal to all Coin Dealer Members of the Society and also interested persons to donate coins for our Museum and a copy of their own publications for our Library. We also appeal to the donars to give donations for the betterment of the Society.

We want to build up the Society as a centre of numismatic studies which will offer possible facilities to scholars here and abroad to investigate into different problems relating to numismatic studies. But, to fulfil this dream we require an adequate amount of money.

The financial condition of the Society is not very encourging. This is very clear from the audit report on accounts for the last year and also from the figures of the estimated budget for the years 1979-80 & 1980-81. At present the Society is running with a loan of Rs. 34. 136.69. Our main sources of income are subscriptions received from the members, amounts received from sale of our publications and the grants received from Indian Council of Historical Research, as well as Central Govt. and different State Governments. But the total amount realised is far from satisfactory. We appeal to the council, Central and State Governments to enhance their grants to and release them regularly to overcome financial difficulty.

The Society is not adequately staffed. The employees have been given Central Govt. scale. We are very much concerned about them. Unfortunately, due to paucity of funds, we could not provide them Dearness Allowance according to the present D. A. rates of the Central Government. Though we have a plan to provide them with House Rent Allowance and City Compensatory Allowance etc., it depends on the source of Society's income. This year we have provided them the benifit of leave etc.

We once again appeal to you all to extend your full cooperation in putting the Society on a sound financial footing. In this connection we would further like to point out that we are not in a position to expand further our Library, Museum and Laboratory. We have also to complete our upper story of the building. Our resources are limited. We therefore, appeal to our members for making generous donations to the Society to achieve its target in this direction.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have to discharge my duties as General Secretary of the Society under very strange circumstances. I stay in Bodh Gaya whereas my office is at Varanasi. Fortunately the present Treasurer Dr. Jai Prakash Singh and the Joint-Secretary Dr. Thakur Prasad Verma have shouldered all the responsibilities to run the office as efficiently as possible. They have been ably supported by the staff. I have also been fortunate to work with Prof. Dr. Lallanji Gopal, who has always been kind to me. If any thing has been achieved by the Society during the last one year, it has been due to their efforts. Glories are theirs, failures are mine.

Thank You

* * * *

Proceedings of the Executive Council of the Numismatic Society of India held on the 9th August, 1980 at 2.30 P. M. in the Hall of the Society. The following members were present :—

1. Prof. Dr. Lallanji Gopal (*In the Chair*)
2. Prof. Dr. Upendra Thakur
3. Prof. Dr. A. N Lahiri
4. Dr. K. K. Dasgupta
5. Dr. Bhaskar Chatterjee
6. Shri S. N. Samanta
7. Dr. B. B. Singh
8. Dr. J. P. Singh
9. Dr. T. P. Verma
10. Dr. P. N. Singh
11. Dr. R. D. Chaudhary, and,
12. Shri K. B. Tewari.

Before taking up the agenda, a condolence resolution, moved by the Chairman on the sad demise of the following members, was passed. The members of the Society present kept two minutes silence in the memory of the departed souls and prayed to the Almighty for their peace in the Heaven and for the consolation of their family members. The Council placed on record its appreciation of the services of the deceased to the Society. A copy of the condolence message was to be sent to the bereaved families :—

1. Late Shri Vijay Kant Mishra,
2. ,, ,, Dwarka Das Lakhotia and
3. ,, ,, Rai Krishna Das

Then the Agenda was taken up.

1.	To confirm the minutes of the las meeting of the E. C. held on the 29th March, 1980 held at Bangalore.	: The minutes of the last meeting of the Executive Council held on the 29th March, 1980 at Bangalore were read out and confirmed.
2.	To elect the following:	: The following vacant posts were filled up by unanimous elections :—

POST	: ELECTED PERSONS
(i) President	: Prof. Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri
(ii) Chief-Editor	: Prof. Dr. Lallanji Gopal
(iii) Editors	: Dr. K. K. Dasgupta : Dr. Bhaskar Chatterjee
(iv) Joint-Secretary	: Dr. O. P. Singh. : Dr. T. P. Verma

(v)	Dr. A. L. Yadav was elected as a member of the Executive Council in place of Dr. T. P. Verma who was elected Joint-Secretary.
3. To consider the letter of Prof. K. D. Bajpai regarding publication of Tribal Coins.	Resolved that the letter of Prof. K. D. Bajpai regarding publication of Tribal Coins be referred to the Publication Committee.
4. To revise the Proforma of Membership-Form.	Resolved that revised Proforma for memership be accepted.
5. To revise the rules for the Library (Reference or Consulting).	Resolved that the Rules for the Library be approved with the following changes :— (i) Ordinarily no books are to be issued. If issued in extra-ordinary circumstances, cost of the book be deposited by the borrower, but no out of print book be issued. (ii) Five Copies of books and Journals printed by the Society be kept in the Society's Library. (iii) The Joint-Secretary be requested to scrutinise the Rules of the Society's Library and place his suggestions before the Executive council.
6. To consider the payment of incidental charges to the local editor in view of the deficit.	Resolved that the travelling allowance be given to the local Editor.
7. To consider the invitations of the Vikram University, Ujjain, Sambalpur University and Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Gauhati for holding the 68th Annual Conference of the Society.	Resolved that the invitation for next session of Society from Gauhati be accepted for the year 1980; Vikram University, Ujjain for 1981 and Sambalpur University for 1982, and that the Conference my be held either in the last week of November or the first week of December '80.
8. Reconstruction of the sub-Committees required by the new Constitution. (a) Award Committee,	(a) *Award Committe* (i) Dr. R. D. Chaudhury, (ii) Dr. S. K. Maity, (iii) Dr. (Mrs) Sobhana Gokhale, (iv) Prof. R. K. Choudhary and (v) Dr. (Mrs.) Bela Lahiri

(b) Publication Commitee,	(b) *Publication Committee* (i) Dr. A. M. Shastri (ii) Dr. A. N. Lahiri (iii) Dr. B. B. Singh
(c) Library, Museum and Laboratory Committees and	(c) *Library, Museum & Laboratory Committee.* (i) Dr. A. N. Lahiri (ii) Shri K. B. Tiwari (iii) Shri S. N. Samanta (iv) Shri B. B. Mehta.
(d) Donation & Bequest Committee etc.	(d) *Donation and Bequest Committee* (i) Dr. J. P. Singh (ii) Shri K. B. Tiwari (iii) Shri S. N. Samanta (iv) Shri B. B. Mehta (v) Dr. P. N. Singh (vi) Dr. A. L. Yadava (vii) Prof. Dr. Lallanji Gopal (viii) Prof. Dr. Upendra Thakur, Convener (ix) Dr. T. P. Verma.
1. To confirm the services of Shri Madan Mohan Srivastava with effect from the 27th July, 1980. :	Resolved that the Services of Shri Madan Mohan Srivastava, Office Assistant, be confirmed with effect from the 27th July, 1980.

August 9, 1980

Sd. Upendra Thakur

General Secretary

Numismatic Society of India

Confirmed

Sd. Lallanji Gopal

Chairman

Numismatic Society of India

Proceedings of the emergent meeting of the local members of the Executive Council of the Numismatic Society of India held in the Chamber of the Chairman on the 27th September, 1980. Following members were present.

1. Prof. Dr. Lallanji Gopal (*In the chair*)
2. Dr. J. P. Singh
3. Dr. T. P. Verma
4. Dr. P. N. Singh
5. Dr. O. P. Singh and
6. Dr. A. L. Yadav.

After preliminary talks a letter from the General Secretary was brought by a person from Gaya stating that he would not be able to attend the meeting and that he is coming here on the 4th October, '80.

The postponed emergent meeting of the local members of the Society was resumed on the 4th October, 1980 at 2.30 P. M. in the Hall of the Society. Following members were present :

1. Prof. Dr. Lallanji Gopal (*In the chair*)
2. Prof. Dr. Upendra Thakur
3. Dr. J. P. Singh
4. Dr. T P. Verma
5. Dr. P. N. Singh
6. Dr. O. P. Singh
7. Dr. A. L. Yadav.

Before taking up the agenda, a condolence resolution moved by the Chairman on the sad demise of the following member of the Society, and, a scholar of the History of Arts, was passed. The members of the Society present kept two minutes silence in the memory of the departed souls and prayed to the Almighty for their peace in the Heaven and for the consolation of their family members. The Council placed on record its appreciation of the services of the deceased to the Society. A copy of the condolence message was to be sent to the bereaved families :

1. Late Shri Ajit Ghose, and,
2. Late Prof. Dr. S. K. Saraswati.

1.	To confirm the minutes of the last meeting of the Executive Council of the Society held on 9th August 1980 at Varanasi.	:	The minutes of the last meeting of the Executive Council of the Society held on the 9th August 1980 held at Varanasi were read out and confirmed.
2.	To consider the letter of Prof. Dr. A. M. Shastri regarding his presidentship of the Society for the year 1981.	:	The letter of Prof. Dr. A. M. Shastri was read out and considered. Resolved that his letter regarding acceptance of the

		Presidentship for the year 1981, due to his eye operation, be accepted and unanimously it was resolved that Prof. Dr. V. S. Pathak, Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, University of Gorakhpur, be requested to accept the Presidentship of the Society for the year 1980. It was also resolved that a messanger be sent immediately to Gorakhpur with a letter of the Chairman to get his acceptance.
3. To consider the letter of Dr. K. K. Dasgupta regarding his resignation from the Editorship of the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.	:	The letter of Dr. K. K. Dasgupta regarding his resignation from the Editorship of the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, was read out by the Chief-Editor who recommended that it may be accepted, and Dr. T.P. Verma be appointed in his place. The Council accepted his resignation and appointed Dr. T. P. Verma as one of the editors.
4 To select a subject for the Seminar to be held at the Gauhati Conference.	:	Resolved that a Seminar be held at the Gauhati Conference on the subject, "The Technique of Minting Coins in India".
5. Any other item with the permission of the Chair.	:	(a) Dr. J. P. Singh had expressed his inability to the Chief-Editor to look after the work of the Editorship of the Journal of the Society for the year 1979. The Council appreciated his long services and cooperations. Thanks was given to him. On the recommendation of the Chief Editor it was resolved that Dr. T. P. Verma and Dr. O. P. Singh be requested to work as Editors for the year 1979 as well. (b) It was resolved that a letter be sent to the Railway Board for concession to the members of the Society for a second time Conference of the Society in the year 1980.

(c) It was resolved that the amount of T. A. (Conveyance) incurred by Dr. O. P. Singh in connection with the preparation of the Booklet-Scheme be paid to him from the contingent account of the the Society.

4th October, 1980

Sd/–(UPENDRA THAKUR)
General Secretary
Numismatic Society of India

Confirmed
Sd. (LALLANJI GOPAL)
Chairman
Numismatic Society of India
3rd June 1981

Proceedings of the Executive Council of the Numismatic Society of India held on the 3rd June, 1981 at 9.30 P. M. in the Guest House of the S. P. College Hostal, Pune. The following members were present :—

1. Prof. Dr. Lallanji Gopal (*In the Chair*)
2. Prof. Dr. A. V. Narsimha Murthy
3. Prof. Dr. Upendra Thakur
4. Shri A. Hameed Siddiqui
5. Shri K. B. Tiwari
6. Dr. (Smt) Sobhana Gokhale
7. Dr. A. Lal
8. Dr. T. P. Verma.

1.	To confirm the minutes of the last meeting of the Executive Council held on the 4th October, 1980 at Varanasi. :	Proceedings of the last meeting dated 4th October, 1980 were read out and confirmed.
2.	To approve the General Secretary's Report. :	The Report of the General Secretary was read out and confirmed and forwarded to the General Body for its approval.
3.	To decide about the number of the Author's copies in cases where the authors have been given royality. :	Resolved to give 10 copies free to the authors and another 10 copies at the half price, if they want. The royality be given at the rate of Rs. 5/– per page.

4.	To consider the letter of Dr. P. L. Gupta dated 18.12.80 regarding publication of Lucknow Seminar papers which he had edited. :	Resolved that the proceedings of 1968 Seminar held at Lucknow be edited by the Chief Editor.
5.	To consider the letter of Dr. P. L. Gupta regarding compilation of the Bibliography of Indian Numismatics from 1971 to 1980. :	Resolved that the task of compiling the Bibliography from 1971 to 1980 be entrusted to Dr. (Smt) Shobhana Gokhale (Ancient India Pt. I) It was further resolved that Dr. S. K. Bhatt be entrusted with the preparation of the Bibliography of Medieval and Modern Period Pt. II. for the same period. The authors may be requested to submit their manuscripts by the end of the December, 1981.
6.	To consider the provision provided in section VIII Sub-Section 7 of the Constitution regarding the operation of the accounts. :	Resolved that the Section VIII Sub-Section 7 of the Constitution page No. 16, ‘The funds of the Society will be invested in approved securities by the Treasurer in consultation with the Chairman and the General Secretary and with the approval of the Executive Council. The bank and Post Office accounts of the funds and investments will be jointly operated by the Treasurer and the Chairman or the General Secretary” be amended as follows and be placed before the General Body for the approval : “The funds of the Society will be invested in approved Securities by the Treasurer in consultation with the Chairman and the General Secretary and with the approval of the Executive Council. The Bank and Post-Office accounts of the funds and investments will be jointly operated by any two of the Treasurer and the Chairman and the General Secretary.
7.	To consider the letter of M/s Antiquarian Book House, 7, Malka Ganj, Delhi regarding reprinting of Gupta Gold Coins by Altekar. :	Resolved that M/s Antiquarian Book House, 7, Malka Ganj, Delhi should not be given permission to reprint the Gupta Gold Coins from Bayana Hoard by Dr. A. S. Altekar.

8.	To approve the Auditor's Report for the year 1979-80.	:	Auditor's Report for the year 1979-80 be approved.
9.	To approve the Budget for the years 1980-81 and 1981-82.	:	Budget for the years 1980-81 and 1981-82 be approved.
10.	To consider the question of nominating the President of the Society for the next session.	:	Resolved that Prof. Dr. A. M. Shastri be requested to preside over the next session of the Society.
11.	To consider the representation of Shri Krishna Kumar Srivastava, Office-Superintendent of the Society.	:	Resolved that Shri Krishna Kumar Srivastava be given two annual increments of his scale of pay from the 1st June, 1981 and the date of his regular increment will remain unaltered.
12.	Any other item with the permission of the Chair.	:	Considered the invitation of Prof. Dr. S. C. Behera, Head, Department of History, Sambalpur University for the next Conference of the Society. It was decided that the request be accepted and the next Conference of the Society be held sometime in October-November 1981 at Sambalpur.

3rd June, 1981.

Sd. Upendra Thakur
General Secretary
Numismatic Society of India

Confirmed

Sd. (A. V. Narsimha Murthy)
Vice-Chairman
Numismatic Society of India

Proceedings of the General Body of the Numismatic Society of India held on the 4th June, 1981 in the Hall of the Bharat Itihasa Samshodhak Mandal, Pune. The following members attended the meeting. It was presided over by Prof. Dr. Lallanji Gopal, Chairman of the Society.

EXECUTIVE MEMBERS

1.	Prof. Dr. Lallanji Gopal	*Chairman*	Varanasi
2.	Prof. Dr. A. V. Narsimha Murthy	*Vice-Chairman*	Mysore
3.	Prof. Dr. Upendra Thakur	*General Secretary*	Bodhgaya

4.	Dr. Thakur Prasad Verma	*Joint-Secretary*	Varanasi
5.	Dr. (Smt) Shobhana Gokhale	*Member*	Pune
6.	Dr. Achhe Lal	*Member*	Varanasi
7.	Shri K. B. Tewari	*Member*	Hoshangabad
8.	Shri A. H. Siddiqui	*Member*	Hyderabad.

LIFE-MEMBERS :

9.	Shri Gulshan Kumar Bhardwaj	Jind
10.	„ Bal Chandra Jain	Jabalpur
11.	„ J. G. Batavia	Nasik
12.	„ R. V. Mandhre	Poona
13.	„ Y. M. Hussain	„
14.	Dr. Anand Shridhar Kelkar	„

ORDINARY MEMBERS :

15.	Dr. R. S. Morwanchikar	Aurangbad
16.	Shri Indra Chand Tated	Betul
17.	Shri B. V. Shetti	Bombay
18.	„ Dhirajlal Jivaraj Gala	„
19.	„ Jivaraj R. Thakkar	„
20.	„ Kauji Jevat Furia	„
21.	„ K. M. Savla	„
22.	„ L. V. Dixit	„
23.	„ N. J. Mehta	„
24.	„ Pukharaj J. Surana	„
25.	Shri P. M. Joshi	„
26.	„ Shantilal M. Jagani	„
27.	Dr. Krishna Mohan Shrimali	Delhi
28.	Shri Anil Kumar	New Delhi
29.	Kumari Alka Tiwari	Hoshangabad
30.	Shri S. P. Bhandari	Hoshiarpur
31.	„ V. G. Athalye	„
32.	„ Riazath Hussain	Hyderabad
33.	Dr. S. K. Bhatt	Indore
34.	Shri R. K. Sethi	„

35.	Shri Rakesh Jain	Jabalpur
36.	,, Chhaganlal Nathubhai Metha	Kutch
37.	,, Bahusar Vasudeva Rao	Mysore
38.	,, M. V. Lakshminarayana	,,
39.	,, M. K. Krishnappa	,,
40.	Dr. Chandra Shekhar Gupta	Nagpur
41.	Shri Prashant P. Kulkarni	,,
42.	Shri Bagadia Sushil Natwarlal	Poona
43.	,, G. H. Khare	,,
44.	,, Squ. Ldr. H. C. S. Gour	,,
45.	,, Manekji Devji Dharmshi	,,
46.	,, Simadri Behari Ota	,,
47.	,, Shekh Nizam Suleman	,,
48.	Kumari Sushila Baraganza	,,
49.	Shri Ulhas Nathubiram Nankame	,,
50.	Dr. L. S. Nigam	Raipur
51.	Shri S. N. Trivedi	Shahjahanpur
52.	,, Arvind Kumar Singh	Varanasi
53.	,, Chandra Deo Singh	,,
54.	,, Jiwan Upadhyay	,,
55.	Dr. Mohd Naseem	,,
56.	Shri Shiva Prasad Gupta	,,
57.	Shri Shiva Kumar Srivastava	Varanasi
58.	,, Santosh Sharan Srivastava	,,
59.	,, Shailendra Prasad Panthari	,,
60.	,, S. V. Sohani	Poona
61.	,, Suresh Chandra Agrawal	Allahabad
62.	,, Pramod Vamanrao Vernekar	Belgaum
63.	Dr. Pranabhanand Jash	Santiniketan
64.	Shri Mohd. Rizaul Karim	Bangladesh

The following resolutions were passed :—

1. To confirm the minutes of the last meeting of the General Body held on the 29th March, 1980. : The minutes were read out and confirmed.
2. General Secretary's Report : Report read out and confirmed.
3. To Pass the Auditor's Report : Auditor's Reports were read out and passed.
4. To pass the Budget of the Society for the years 1980-81 and 1981-82 : Budget read out and passed.

5. To consider the amendments regarding : Operation of the Accounts Clause VIII. 7 page 16 and suspension of Clause VI. 2 (iii) p. 12. Election of Office-bearers.

(a) *Funds and Accounts* : Clause, VIII Sub-clause 7 page 16 of the Constitution be amended as follows :

Resolved that "The funds of the Society will be invested in approved securities by the Treasurer in counsultation with the Chairman and the General Secretary and with the approval of the Executive Council. The Bank and Post-Office accounts of the funds and investments will be jointly operated by any two of the following office-bearers :– 1. The Treasurer 2. The Chairman and 3. The General Secretary".

(b) *Election of Office-bearers.* Clause VI. 2 Sub-clause (iii) page 12 of the Constitution be amended as follows :

Resolved that "The ordinary members of the Executive Council shall be elected for a period of three years." (Rest of the sentence be deleted and the **Explanation** portion of this sub-clause also be deleted.

6. Any other item with the permission of the Chair.

   i. Reg. enhancement in the membership : fee.

The matter of increasing the rate of membership fee was discussed and Resolved that the membership fee will be changed per year with effect from the 1st January 1982 at the following rates :—

Membership	India	U. K.	U. S. A.	In Other Countries
Ordinary Member	Rs. 25/–	£ 4.00	$ 10.00	Rs. 75/–
Life Member	Rs. 350/–	£35.00	$116.00	Rs. 500/–
Institutional	Rs. 50/–	£ 5.00	$ 13.00	Rs. 90/–
Coin Dealer	Rs. 50/–	£ 5.00	$ 13.00	Rs. 90/–

Sd. Upendra Thakur
General Secretary
Numismatic Society of India
20.10.81

Confirmed

Sd. A. V. Narsimha Murthy
Vice-Chairman
Numismatic Society of India

REPORT ON BANARAS CHAPTER OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

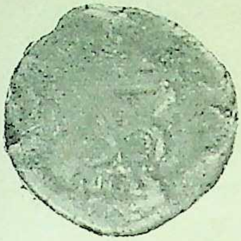
DR. T. P. VERMA

Joint Secretary

It was being felt since long that Numismatics should be popularised among the public so that a consciousness about the importance of ancient coins, seals and sealings be generated among people at large. It will help in the preservation of our heritage if people know the real significance of these antiquities.

Varanasi being the cultural and educational centre of northern India it is natural that not only most of the hoards of coins but also important individual coins have been reported to have been found, or purchased, from, here. Fortunately the head quarters of the Numismatic Society of India is situated in the campus of the Banaras Hindu University. Again it is note-worthy that there are 24 Life Members (inclnding one Honorary Fellow), 48 Ordinary Members and 4 Institutional Members from Varanasi. In order to bring these lovers of coins close and to have more fruitful exchange of views between them it is desirable to have frequent meetings of all concerned.

In a priliminary meeting held on the 9th March 1981 it was decided to arrange a monthly get together of the local members of the Numismatic Society of India on every second Saturday of the month. To such meetings ametures as well as persons who are interested in the general promotion of this particular branch of knowledge will also be invited. Periodically film shows, exhibitions of coins, seals and sealings and/or their photographs, seminars and group discussions will also be arranged. It was also decided that this Local body of the members of the Society be called 'The Banaras Chapter of the Numismatic Society of India.' If this experiment is successful, Society members of other cities may also be encouraged to form such Chapters.



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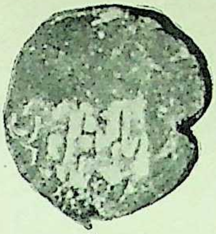

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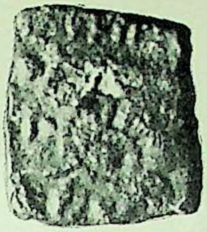

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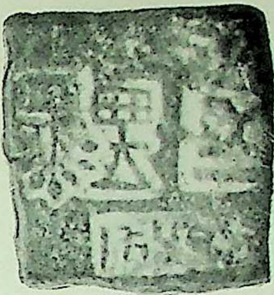

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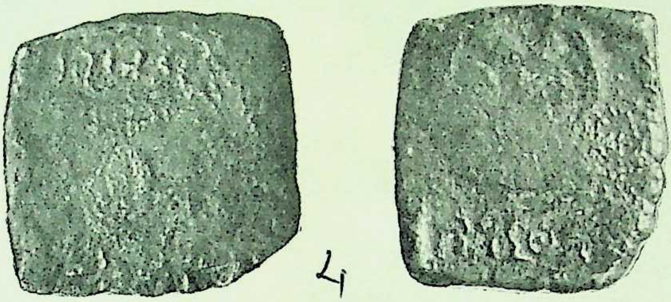

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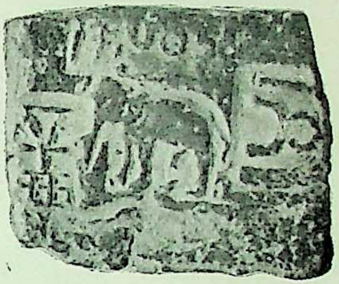

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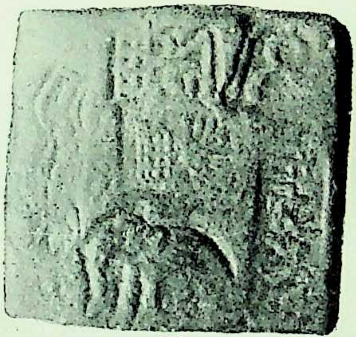

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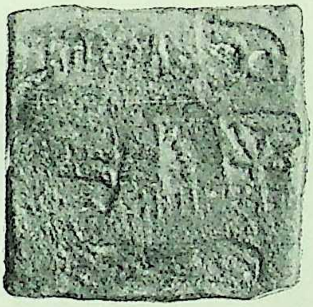

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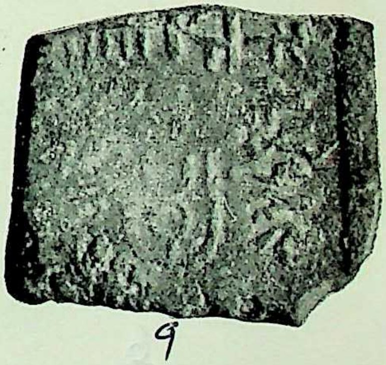

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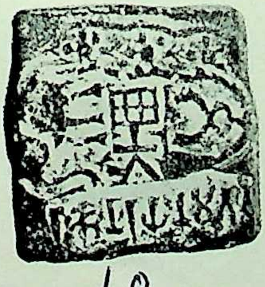

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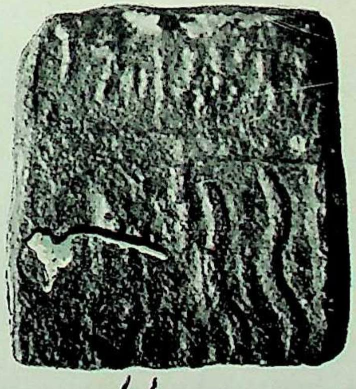

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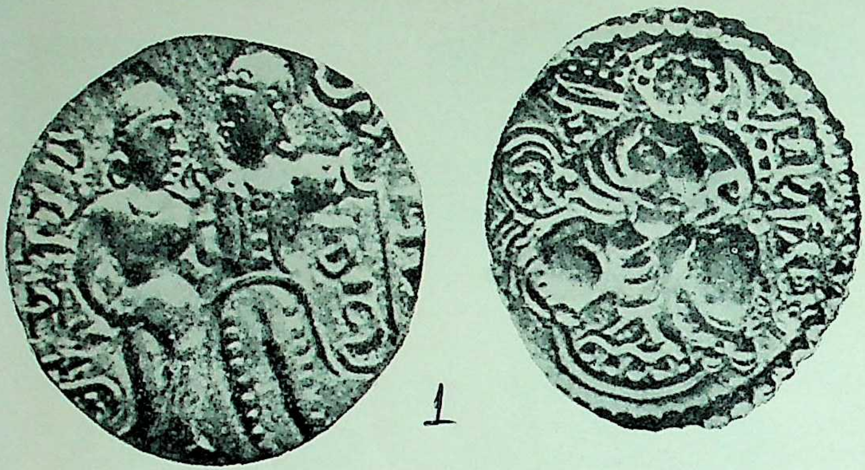
1-10. Inscribed punch-marked coins from Dasarna area. 11. An inscribed punch-marked coin from Nandera.

PLATE II



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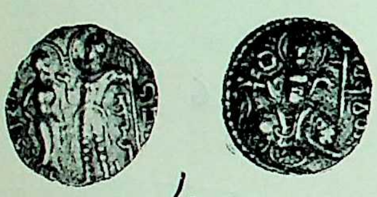

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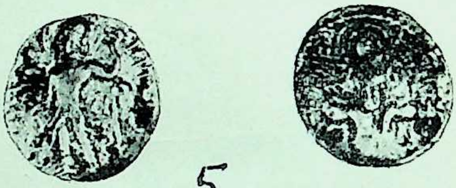

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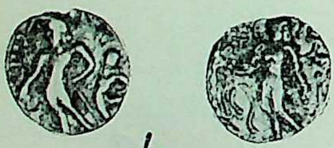

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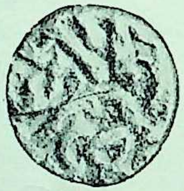

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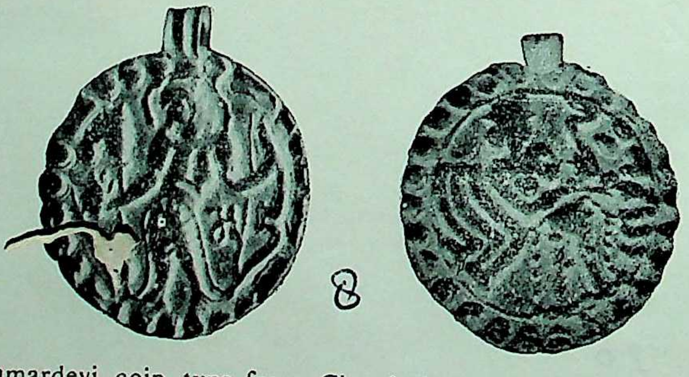

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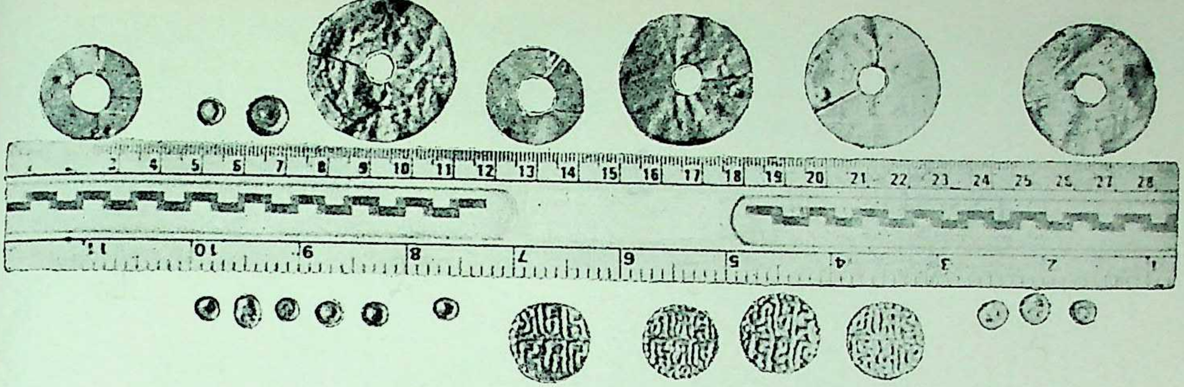
1. Chandragupta-Kumardevi coin type from Chandraketugarh. 2-3. Repousse coin of Prasannamatra. 4-6. Gupta gold type silver coins. 7-7a. A coin of Rāmagupta. 8. Imitation Gupta gold coin.



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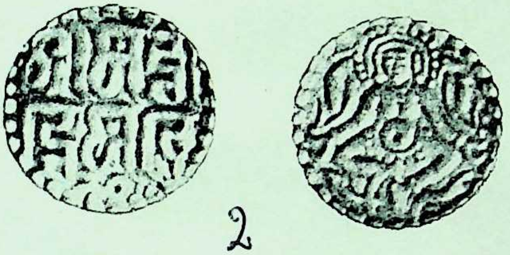

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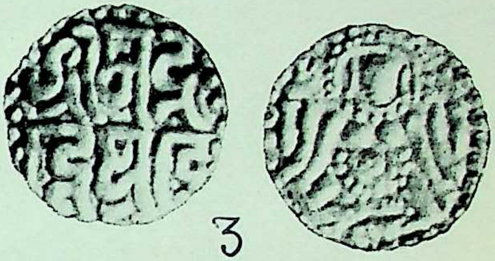

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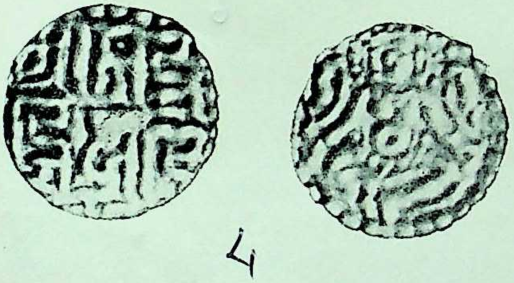

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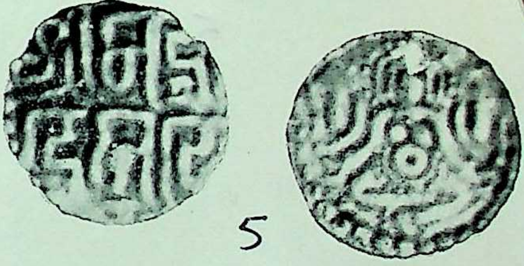

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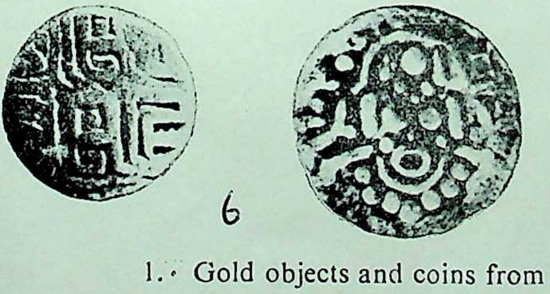

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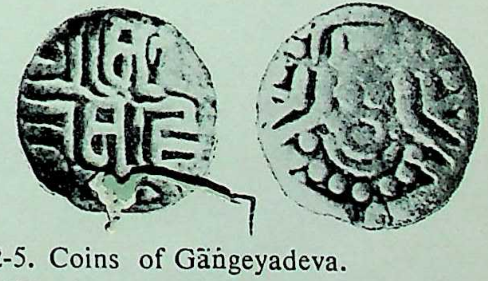
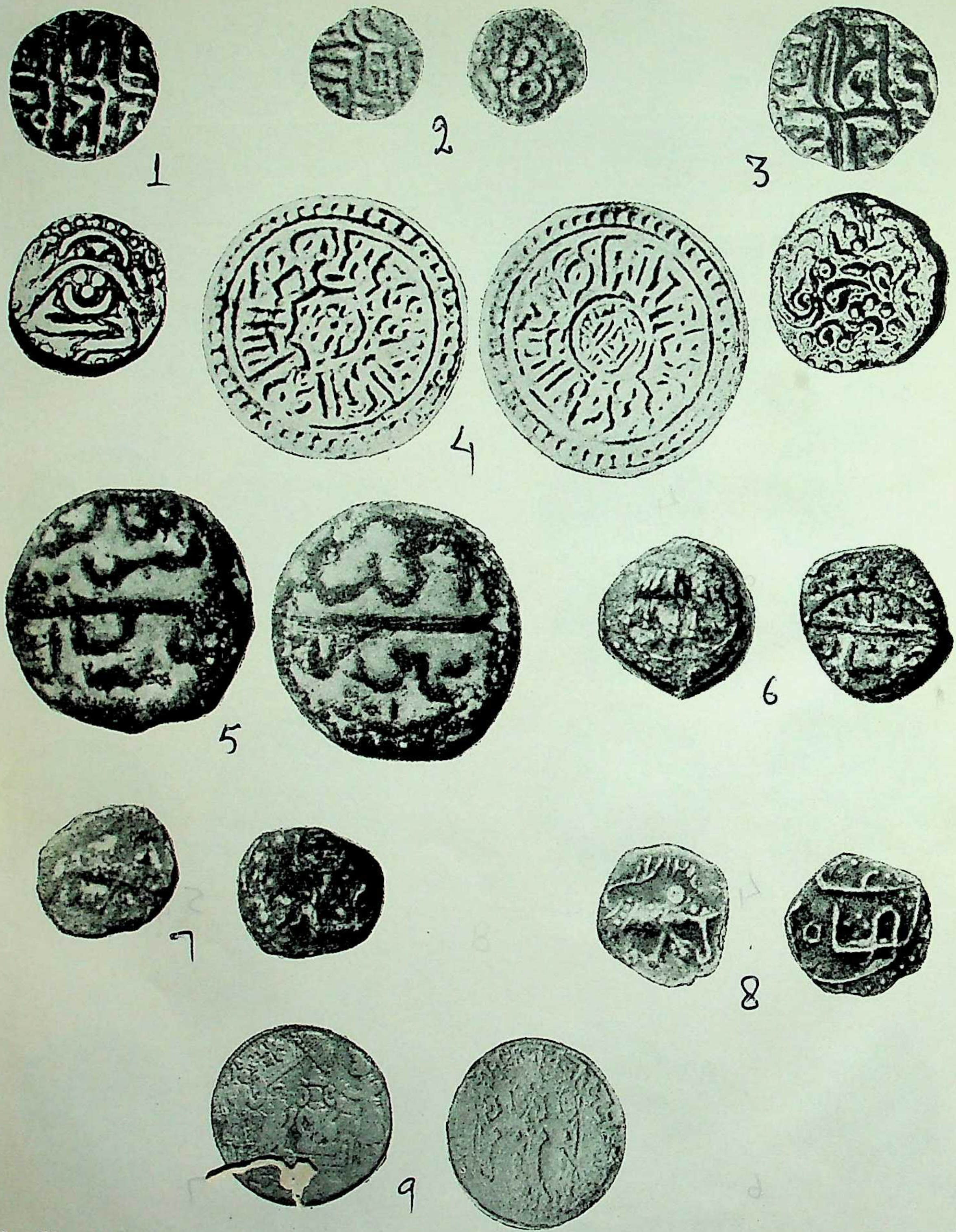
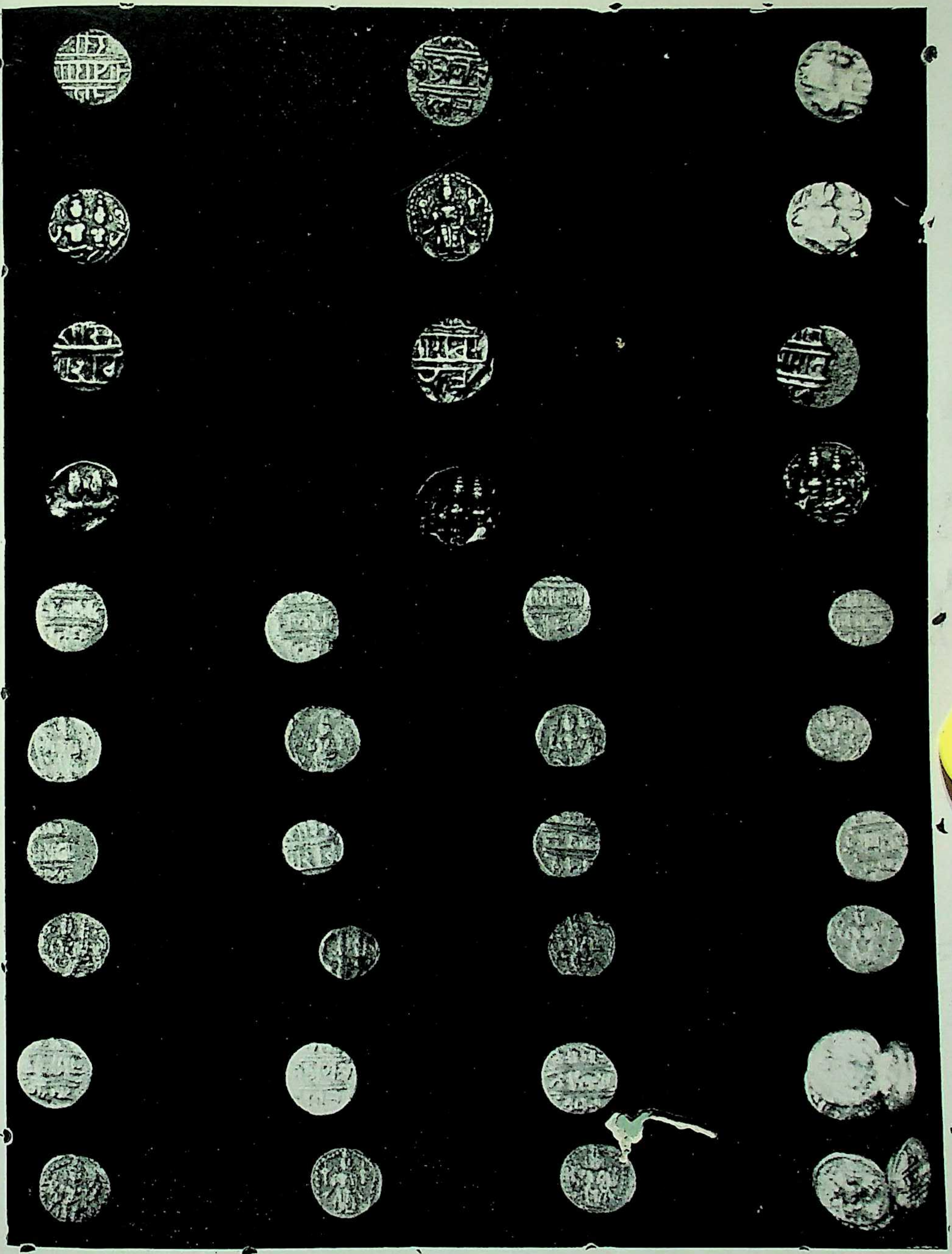


1. Gold objects and coins from a hoard. 2-5. Coins of Gāṅgeyadeva.
6-7. Chandela coins from Tewar.



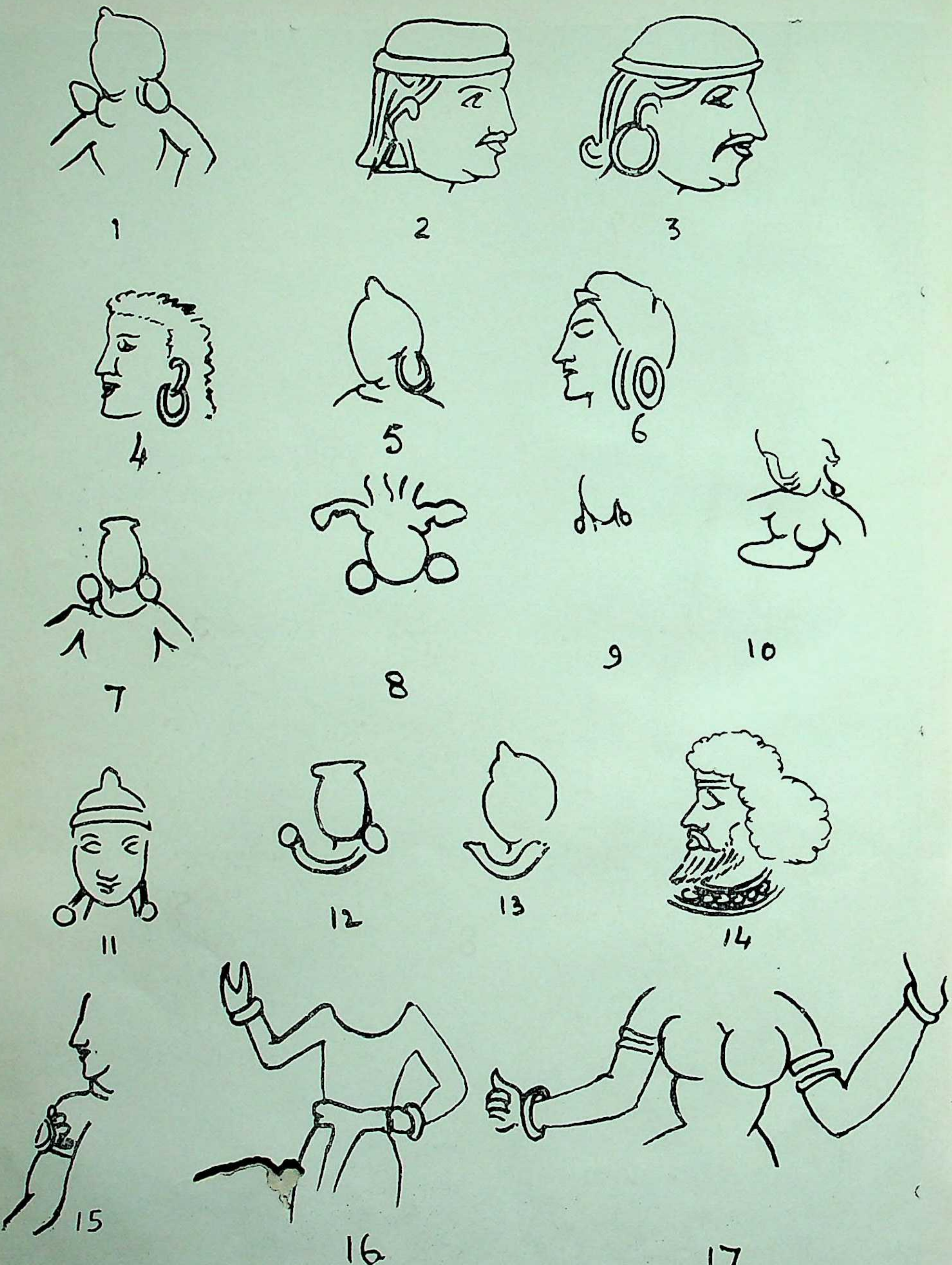
1. Chandela coins from Tewar. 2-3. Two rare Kalachuri coins. 4. A coin of Alaud-Dunya-u-Din Khalji. 5. Coin of Hussain Nizam Shah I. 6-8. Coins of Haidar Ali and Tippu Sultan.

PLATE V



1-18. Vijayanagar coins from Thanjaur District.

PLATE VI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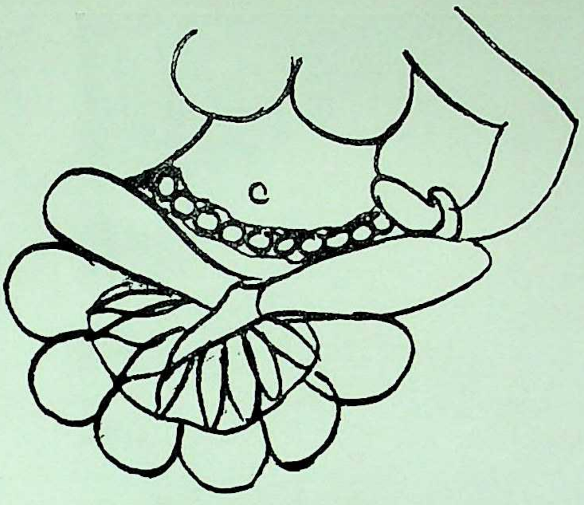
1-17. Ornaments on early Indian coins.

PLATE VII



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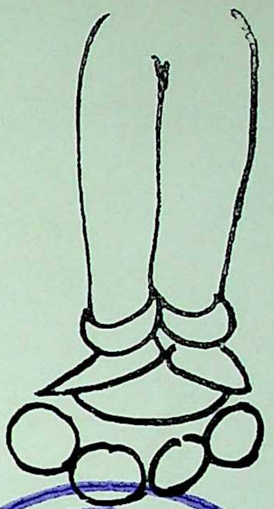

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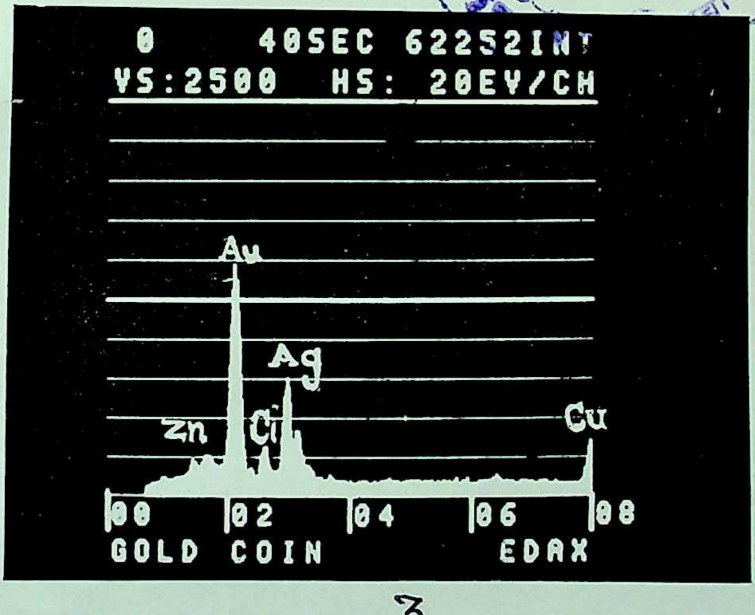

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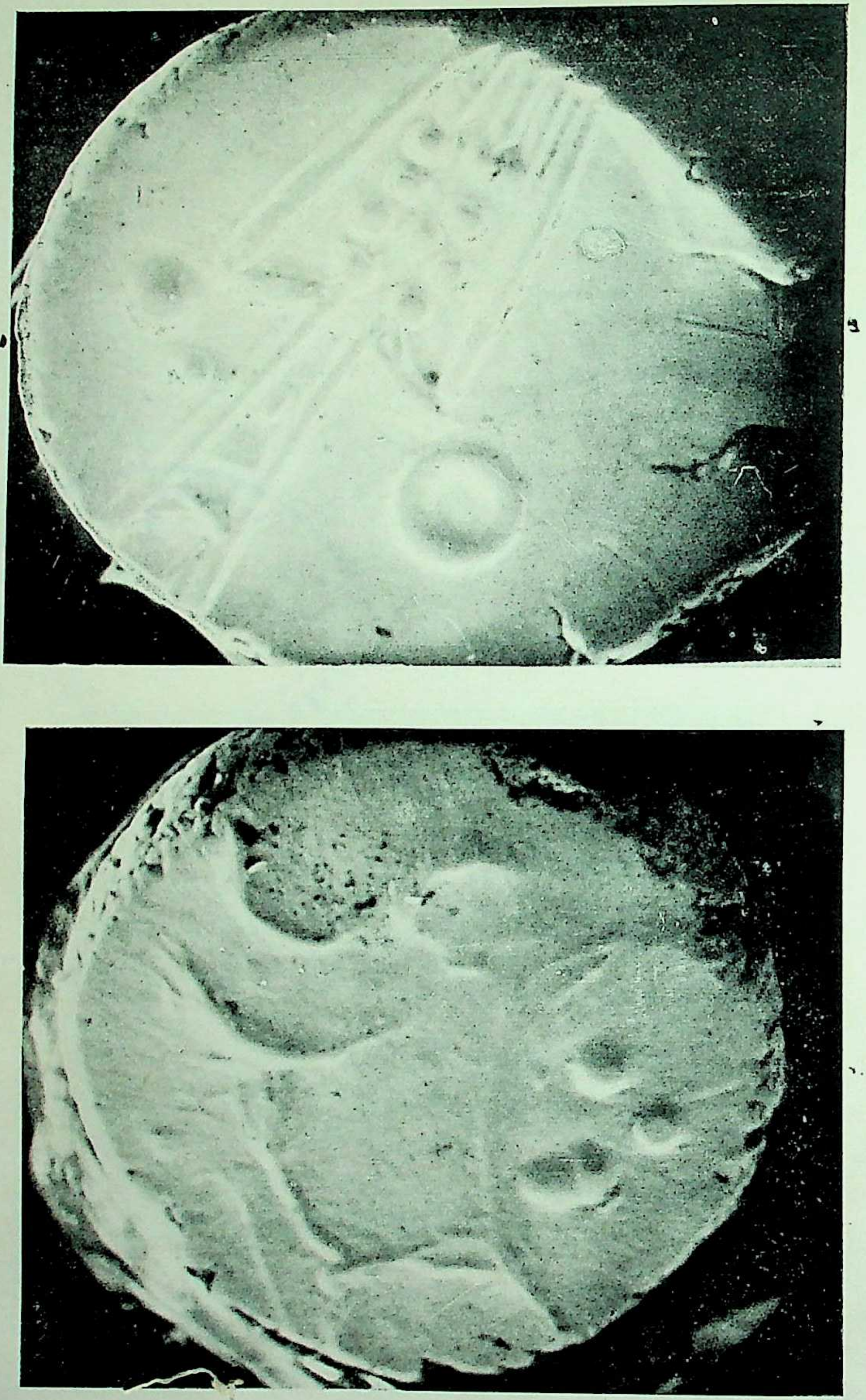
1-2. Ornaments on early Indian coins. 3. Analysis of South Indian gold Panam.



Enlarged view of a coin examined under the electro-scanning microscope.

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